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A
VIEW
OF THE REIGN OF
FREDERICK II. of PRUSSIA;

WITH
A PARALLEL between that PRINCE and
PHILIP II. of MACEDON.

B 1162

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

> Εγω δε ἡγȣμαι καλα μεν ειναι μνημεια, και τας των σωματων εικονας· πολυ μεντοι πλειονος αξιας τας των πραξεων και της διανοιας, ἁς εν τοις λογοις αν τις μονον τοις τεχνικως εχȣσι, θεωρησειε.
>
> ISOCRATES.

LONDON:
Printed for A. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCCLXXXIX.

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

JOHN

AND THE HONOURABLE

CHARLES HOPE.

GENTLEMEN,

IN the following Work, my reflections on what I have lately read, are often modified by obſervations on what I formerly ſaw, during our travels in Germany, and particularly by the compariſon which I had an opportunity of making, between the ſtate of the Pruſſian dominions in 1784, and their condition a dozen years before that period, when I viſited them in company with your late brother Henry, my ever regretted friend.

Beſides this particular reaſon for offering the following narrative to you, the campaigns of Frederick, a Prince, concerning whom every enlightened mind muſt think, and every lover of letters muſt write, with pleaſing enthuſiaſm, cannot, in my opinion, be honoured with any better patronage, than that of two Britiſh officers, who, with the true ſpirit of the military profeſſion, unite that liberality of character, and thoſe attainments in uſeful knowledge, which are eſſentially requiſite, in a free country, to adorn the profeſſion of arms, and render it ſubſervient to the great purpoſes of national honour and public happineſs.

I remain, moſt faithfully and moſt affectionately,

Your ſincere friend,

and obedient humble ſervant,

London,
New Norfolk Street,
20th June 1789.

JOHN GILLIES.

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ERRATA.

Page 8. line 24. *for* Guibere, *read* Guibert.
16. — 11. *for* who, *read* which.
29. — 23. *dele* the.
85. — 13. *for* ſupported, *read* covered.
95. — 11. *for* Hanover, *read* Saxony.
97. *in the marginal note, for* Frederick, *read* France.
235. — 14. *for* better, *read* other.
380. — 6. *for* wine, *read* vine.
445. — 22. *for* Pruſſia, *read* Ruſſia.

THE PARALLEL OF FREDERICK II. of PRUSSIA WITH PHILIP II. of MACEDON.

Introduction. Ground of the Parallel. Philip and Frederick both tutored in the ſchool of adverſity. Encountered great difficulties at their reſpective acceſſions. Surmounted them by ſimilar means. Lovers of pleaſure and lovers of money, but governed by neither. Inventors in the art of war. Hiſtory of Frederick's improvements. Both formed great generals, and invincible armies. Both eminent in arts as well as arms. Their architectural embelliſhments. Fond admirers of men of genius. Both met with ſignal inſtances of literary ingratitude. With the cares of royalty, conjoined the cordial delights of equal ſociety. Eminent encouragers of productive induſtry. Their correſpondent diſdain for reſpected errors.

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Introduction.

IN the courſe of laborious application to a long work, it is neceſſary ſometimes to unbend, and ſometimes to divert, attention: but amuſement is more uſeful than repoſe, eſpecially when congenial to the ordinary aim of our labours. Devoted for ſeveral years paſt to the illuſtration of that important period of hiſtory which elapſed from the death of Alexander to the dominion of Auguſtus, and which comprehends the actions of the greateſt men, and the revolutions of the greateſt nations of antiquity, I am tempted often to deviate into collateral tracts of ſtudy; to conſider under ſimilar points of view, the genius of ancient and modern times; to examine their reſpective merits in arts and arms; to aſcertain their agreement by compariſon, and to illuſtrate their differences by contraſt. Of a man accuſtomed to give free ſcope to the exerciſe of ſuch comparative meditations, the Memoirs of Frederick II. of Pruſſia, copiouſly related by himſelf, and by a felicity equally rare, carefully publiſhed under the auſpices of his illuſtrious ſucceſſor, could not fail to excite the attention in a very uncommon degree, ſince the enterpriſes of him whoſe tranſactions they deſcribe, accord far better with the tumultuous conflicts of Alexander and of Cæſar, than with the regulated tameneſs of the eighteenth century.

Ground of the parallel.

But there is one prince of antiquity, whoſe mixed character, *that* of his late Pruſſian Majeſty more nearly reſembles, than either the conſcious magnanimity of the Dictator, or the unbending heroiſm of the ſon of Philip. Of the founder of the Macedonian power, Cicero * ſays, that he was always great; yet unvaried greatneſs was not ſurely his prevailing characteriſtic. By his own acknowledgment, Philip, as well as Frederick, "eked out the lion's with the fox's ſkin:" his actions ſometimes ſoared to magnanimity, and ſometimes verged towards meanneſs; and though he loved the art of war, which he ſtudied aſſiduouſly and ſucceſsfully practiſed, he never attempted by force what could be accompliſhed by addreſs.

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* De Officiis, l. i. c. 26.

Both tutored in the ſchool of adverſity.

Concerning princes in whoſe characters and fortunes ſo many ſingular coincidences will be found, it may ſeem but a vulgar remark, that Frederick II. of Pruſſia, like Philip II. of Macedon, was tutored in the ſchool of adverſity. During their early youth, the former was a priſoner at Kuſtrin, and the latter an hoſtage at Thebes. Yet to both princes alike, theſe apparent misfortunes, which might have oppreſſed the weakneſs of ordinary minds, proved eſſential benefits. During his detention at Thebes, Philip acquired the friendſhip of Epaminondas, and profited by the leſſons and example of that great man; and Frederick in his dungeon at Kuſtrin, afflicted by the double deſpotiſm of a king and a father, diſcovered, what the tumultuous levity of a court is only fitted to conceal, the inexhauſtible reſources of his own vigorous mind; and laid a foundation in ſtudy and reflection, for thoſe ſolid virtues which afterwards adorned his reign.

Encountered great difficulties at their acceſſion.

At their reſpective acceſſion to the throne, both Philip and Frederick had great difficulties to encounter; the former to defend his title againſt two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable armies; the latter to conſolidate his dominions, and to procure for them among the ſtates of Europe, that rank in reality, which they enjoyed only in name. Macedon, towards the north of Greece, and Brandenburgh in the north of Germany, were countries barren and barbarous; and the inhabitants of both territories proverbial among their ſouthern neighbours for dulneſs of underſtanding, and groſſneſs of manners. The anceſtors of Philip and of Frederick (even they whoſe virtues have been the moſt extolled by the amiable partiality of their deſcendants) afforded not to either of thoſe princes examples worthy of imitation; and it had been reſerved for both alike, to found the greatneſs of their families, and to redeem their ſubjects from contempt. This arduous taſk, the Pruſſian as well as the Macedonian performed in the firſt years of his reign; and the means by which he performed it were preciſely thoſe of Philip; perſevering induſtry and rigid frugality; augmenting the number and improving the diſcipline of his troops; above all, an unremitted attention to increaſe his revenues by enlarging the ſources from which they flowed.

Surmounted them by the ſame means.

Both princes were addicted to pleaſure, yet tenacious of property; but neither of them allowed his amuſements to interfere with his affairs, nor permitted his habits of parſimony to obſtruct his projects of ambition: the gold of Philip broke and overwhelmed the confederacy of his enemies, and Frederick ſpent almoſt his laſt crown in the conqueſt of Sileſia.

Both lovers of pleaſure and lovers of money, but governed by neither.

In the art of war both were conſummate maſters, poſſeſſing, nearly in the ſame degree, that rare and happy mixture of courage and coolneſs, which forms great generals,

Both inventors in the art of war.

generals. The invention of Philip created or improved the tactics and the diſcipline of the Macedonians; their moſt ſkilful diſpoſitions and moſt deciſive movements mark the illuſtrious æra of his reign; and the impoſing manœuvres of the Macedonian phalanx were thenceforth eagerly, but imperfectly, imitated by Greeks and Barbarians. In this intereſting particular, the merit of his Pruſſian Majeſty is not leſs conſpicuous; and the importance of the ſubject not only juſtifies but requires an explanation, which, to be clear, muſt be copious.

Progreſs of that art in modern Europe.

With the decline of the Roman empire, the profeſſion of arms, which had formerly been an accurate and refined art, degenerated into a trade, awkward in its practice, and almoſt deſtitute of principles. In the moſt celebrated engagements of the middle ages, ſtrength and courage oppoſed courage and ſtrength; and the ſuperiority of numbers decided the iſſue of a battle, with nearly as much certainty as the exceſs of weight inclines the ſcale of a balance. Guſtavus Adolphus, who, with an army of 25,000 Swedes, overawed the German empire, was the firſt modern general that reſiſted ſtrength by velocity, and overcame force by addreſs; and his rapid and ſkilful movements had already proved, what Mareſchal Saxe in his Reveries only ventures to predict, "that the time would come, when campaigns, and even battles, would depend on the feet, more than on the hands." But that illuſtrious Swede, who had been formed without a model, long continued without an imitator. In war, Condé and Turenne became celebrated names; Luxembourgh gained great battles with great armies: the vaſt theatre on which they acted, and the honourable cauſe in which they fought, conſpired with their own virtues, of cool combination and ardent execution, to conſolidate the well-earned fame of Marlborough and Eugene. But the military art itſelf, was ſtill left by thoſe great men nearly in the ſame condition in which they found it; and if we credit Meſſrs. Guiſchardt and Guibere, themſelves gallant officers and moſt approved military authors, none of thoſe ſucceſsful generals already mentioned; no, nor Saxe, nor Villars, nor

Vendôme, owed a ſingle victory to the ſuperiority of their manœuvres; that ſublime branch of tactics which, till Frederick appeared, had been in modern times neither exemplified by practice nor even revived in theory.

Its true theory,

From the pretended ſtudy of Grecian antiquity, the fanciful and long faſhionable Folard derived nothing but inapplicable illuſtrations to juſtify his own extravagant ſyſtem. Without regarding the difference between manual and miſſile weapons, that adventurous theoriſt always advanced his column, which, how well ſoever it may be adapted to the nature of the former, is almoſt always inconſiſtent with the beſt uſe of the latter. The pedantic Puyſegur diſſerted gravely on circles, creſcents, and wedges, as if by retailing Grecian names he could have communicated Grecian ſcience. Each author propoſed and boaſted his peculiar ſyſtem, while none of them ſeemed ſolicitous to regard the end at which the general ought to aim, or the means by which he is moſt likely to attain it; the end, not merely to occaſion uſeleſs bloodſhed, but to render the aſſault irreſiſtible in one or more points, ſo that the confuſion produced there, may be communicated to the whole line; and the means, not merely to advance intrepidly and attack vigorouſly, but in the moment of onſet to form ſuch unforeſeen and ſkilful diſpoſitions, as will enable an army greatly inferior in number, to ſurpaſs the enemy in exertion; and wherever the action is likely to prove moſt deciſive, to bring a greater front to act againſt a ſmaller.

revived by Frederick;

Frederick ſeized this important principle, and diſcerned the delicate modifications with which, according to the nature of troops and arms, and the diverſity of local circumſtances, the general rule muſt be applied to practice. From contemplating the foldings and developement of the Macedonian phalanx, he completed what Guſtavus had begun, and perfected the doctrine of evolutions. In the exerciſe and employment of foot, a difference of arrangement neceſſarily reſulted from the difference of armour in ancient and modern times; but the eſſential qualities of horſe remaining uniformly the ſame in every age, the Pruſſian cavalry had only to follow the examples which the Macedonians had ſet, and by which, under the ſucceſſors of Philip, they triumphed over the numbers of Aſia, as well as over the courage and ferocity of Africa and of Europe. Guided by this diſtinction, Frederick, who had himſelf embodied his ſquadrons, formed them on the Macedonian model, made them lay aſide their carabines, taught them to truſt more to their ſpurs than to their ſwords, trained them to charge in full career, and reduced their ſervice from the awkward and ineffectual uſe of fire-arms, to that violent irruption *, that cloſe, unexpected, and rapid aſſault, which is ſo often deſcribed with wonder in the memorable hiſtory of Philip and his ſucceſſors. It is affirmed by Mr. Guibere, that the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa ſuggeſted to Frederick the idea of his oblique order; but without attempting to prove this aſſertion, it may be obſerved, that armies in moſt ages, but eſpecially in times of ignorance, have charged, as often as it was poſſible, with the full ex-

who forms his cavalry on the ancient model.

His oblique order.

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* Ἡ βιαιη εισβολη. Arrian, Plutarch, and Diodorus.

tent of their fronts. With the complete length of their reſpective lines, Clovis and Attila engaged in their deſperate conflict: in the ſame parallel arrangement, Charles Martel fought againſt the Saracens, and Charlemagne againſt the Saxons. Europe, however, had no ſooner emerged from the groſs barbarity of the middle ages, than the commanders of armies endeavoured to avoid this dangerous mode of combat, and reciprocally ſtrove to attack each other in flank, by detachments ſeparate from the main body. But Frederick, aſpiring to an higher aim, converted the occaſional buſineſs of diviſions into the habitual duty of his line; and reviving the ſublime tactics of Epaminondas and Philip, rendered the attack in flank, which had hitherto been conſidered as an incident, the principal action in his bloody drama.

Reſtores the Macedonian tactics and mode of combat.

Amidſt the tumults of war and the intrigues of policy, that indefatigable prince found leiſure deeply to meditate the inſtructive examples which two imperial nations had left the rulers of the earth. The Macedonian conquerors, whoſe degenerate deſcendants fell a prey to the Romans, often defeated with twenty or thirty thouſand men, innumerable hoſts of warlike Barbarians, reinforced by large bodies of Greek mercenaries armed and diſciplined after the Macedonian faſhion. Equal or inferior in other reſpects, their uniform ſucceſs could reſult only from the peculiar merit of their generals; ſince the weapon on one ſide was not ſtronger than the weapon by which it was oppoſed, the hand that wielded it, muſt have been more active and more dextrous. Yet, except by the ſavage heroiſm of Charles XII. of Sweden, who admired a character that had been disfigured by the romantic Quintus Curtius into the reſemblance of his own, the tactics of Alexander and his lieutenants paſſed unregarded, through the ſucceſſion of ages, till the congenial mind of Frederick perceived their excellence, and adopted them as the higheſt improvement of his military ſyſtem. Through the deceitful miſt of imperfect tranſlations, he diſcerned the ſenſe of the original; and beheld thoſe accompliſhed generals, not marſhalling their troops after the dull formality of an unalterable plan, but adapting their ever-varying operations to the infinite diverſity of circumſtances; examining the ground in perſon, chooſing their points of attack, and amidſt the apparent intricacy of rapid evolutions, directing their multiplied yet eaſy movements to one deciſive termination. Did they mean to attack the enemy on either wing, a mode of onſet which Alexander practiſed often, and which Frederick always preferred, they ſkilfully maſked this deſign; and advancing at the head of their light troops, employed the complicated feints and extended evolutions of their horſe, to cover and conceal the maſſy columns of their foot, which, as the lightning forms behind the cloud, prepared by one ſudden and unforeſeen manœuvre to infold the enemy's flank. This movement generally proved deciſive. The infantry broke and repelled the enemy; and the cavalry, which had firſt ſerved to maſk the attack, now haſtened forward to complete the rout, and to improve the victory.

Philip and Frederick endowed with the

An art that has been reduced to preciſe rules is no longer the field for genius. The Pruſſian as well as the Macedonian tactics were adopted without improvement, and ſometimes injudiciouſly imitated by allies and enemies. But the intellectual reſources of Philip and Frederick, which, amidſt the diſtreſſing ſcenes of unequal warfare, diſcovered expedients for each exigency, and provided remedies for each diſorder; that dexterity in adapting means to ends; that flexibility in varying their meaſures without altering their purpoſe; and that ſagacity, profound and unexampled, which diſcovered in matters of war, as well as of policy, extenſive ramifications of conſequences in the compact and almoſt imperceptible germs from which they were produced;—ſuch ſublime attributes of the general can only be imitated or underſtood by thoſe who have received peculiar gifts from nature, and improved them by habitual induſtry: advantages, uncommon as they are, which appear to have been enjoyed by ſeveral Pruſſian as well as Macedonian captains; ſince Philip and Frederick are eminently diſtinguiſhed above other conquerors by forming men worthy to ſecond them, and therefore uniformly ſucceſsful againſt various enemies, armed and diſciplined after their own model.

ſublime attributes of the general.

Their peculiar diſtinction.

In

Philip and Frederick alike eminent in arts and arms.

In all civilized nations, the moſt illuſtrious characters have ſought diſtinction by the pen or by the ſword; becauſe, to excel in ſuch purſuits requires the keeneſt exertions of intellectual vigour. The glory of Philip and of Frederick reſults from combined excellence in arts, arms, and letters *. With reſpect to letters, time indeed has obſcured the well-earned fame of the Macedonian; and even in his own age, the envy of an Athenian or Olympic audience, who had hiſſed the poetry of Dionyſius, not becauſe his verſes were bad, but becauſe their author was a king, might be more ſolicitous to repreſs the literary ambition of Philip, than even to reſiſt his arms. Yet the tranſactions of his public, the anecdotes of his private life, his wit and humour in converſation, the ſprightlineſs of his ſallies, and the ſmartneſs of his replies, together with his letters and his diſpatches, ſome of which are ſtill on record, exhibit a miniature, dimmed indeed by age, of what Frederick is a picture, large as the life, and blooming in all the freſhneſs of colours. The ſame princes, who were their own miniſters and

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* See Iſocrates's Orations and Letters addreſſed to Philip.

their own generals, aſſiduouſly cultivated muſic and other elegant arts, expatiated in the wide fields of univerſal ſcience [*], ſtudied and imitated the beſt authors, correſponded and diſputed with the learned men of their own times [†]; and not oppreſſed with thoſe multiplied labours, Frederick found leiſure to prepare in his memoirs, an ineſtimable monument, for the example of kings and the inſtruction of poſterity.

Coincide in the peculiar caſt of their minds.

Not only in the variety, but in the caſt and bent of their genius, the coincidence is remarkable. The ſame eaſy flow of animated compoſition, the ſame livelineſs of fancy which will perpetuate their ſayings to the lateſt times, the ſame talent for ridicule chaſtiſed by equal politeneſs, the ſame judgment of things, and the ſame diſcernment of characters. Born amidſt the half barbarous Macedonians and Pruſſians, the minds of both princes emerged from the obſcurity into which fortune had thrown them; and finding nothing congenial to their own feelings in the objects with which they were ſurrounded, both looked abroad, and diſcovered, the one in Athens, and the other in Paris, men whoſe attachment they deſerved by a ſympathy of character and purſuits, and who were qualified to illuſtrate their courts with a real ſplendour beyond any that wealth can purchaſe or power command. In his letter to Ariſtotle, "I rejoice," ſaid Philip, "not ſo much that a ſon is born to me, as that he is born at a time when Ariſtotle lives:" And his Pruſſian Majeſty diſcovered a ſolicitude, the ſtrongeſt and moſt extraordinary, to acquire the friendſhip and enjoy the converſation of D'Alembert and Voltaire. During a long and incurable malady, the former of theſe celebrated Frenchmen derived his principal conſolation from the correſpondence of his royal friend; and the unrivalled talents of the latter, were admired and praiſed, by a prince, above reſentment, and above envy, after the envenomed ſatiriſt, or rather ſerpent, warming in the boſom of friendſhip, endeavoured to ſting his invulnerable fame.

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[*] See Iſocrates's Letters to Philip.

[†] See Philoſtratus's Lives of the Sophiſts.

Their reſpect for men of genius.

Philip alſo found a Voltaire and a ſerpent in Theopompus the Chian, whoſe brilliant fancy and perſuaſive eloquence feebly atoned

Both experienced ſignal inſtances of

atoned for the cruelty of his invective, and the wickedneſs of his calumny. He was the friend, the hiſtorian, the admirer, and the ſcourge of the Macedonian prince. His indecency accuſed Philip of the ſame infamous paſſions, which the impure fancy of the author of the Puçelle has imputed to the king of Pruſſia; while the Diet of the empire arraigned Frederick for the ſame crimes, of rapacity, perfidy, and inordinate luſt of power, which the vehement declamation of Demoſthenes has arrayed in ſuch force and ſplendour againſt the "barbarous Macedonian."

literary ingratitude.

With the cares and the pomp of royalty, it has always been found difficult to conjoin the cordial delights of equal ſociety. But this advantage, difficult as it ſeems, both Philip and Frederick attained. With the ſame graceful eaſe they received the homage of courtiers, and received the leſſons of philoſophers; preſided in a council, or preſided at an entertainment; directed the operations of an army, or directed a band of muſic; and, living in a familiar intercourſe with their friends and generals, cul-

With the cares of royalty, conjoin the cordial delights of equal ſociety.

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vated the virtues of the man, without committing the dignity of the king. Encouraged by the liberal feſtivity of their characters, the aſſemblies of their reſpective capitals became as animated, and almoſt as engaging, as their models in Athens and in Paris. Macedon and Brandenburgh aſſumed the air of Grecian and French colonies; and while a new ſcience of military evolutions was created or revived on the banks of the Lydias and the Sprey, the vicinity of thoſe hitherto obſcure rivers was adorned by ſchools of philoſophy and academies of arts, by temples, theatres, and palaces, which rendered the architectural ornaments of Potzdam worthy of compariſon with the magnificence of Pella. The inhoſpitable ruggedneſs of Hæmus and of Rhodopé, and the thick gloom of the German foreſts, inhabited by men more rugged and more gloomy than the rudeſt ſcenes of ſavage nature, were adorned by the ingenuity of Greece, or enlivened by the ſprightlineſs of France; and the ſeeds of improvement being ſown with care, and cultivated with ſkill, ſpeedily ripened to perfection, and rewarded

The architectural embelliſhment of their reſpective countries.

rewarded the beneficent hands from which they ſprung.

Their correſpondent diſdain for reſpected errors.

Eager to promote the advancement of thoſe arts which embelliſh ſocial life and ſecure the immortal renown of princes by whom they are honoured, both Philip and Frederick diſcovered, perhaps with too little reſpect for the public opinion, an ineffable diſdain for thoſe doubtful yet preſumptuous ſciences, which often change their principles, but never vary their object; which continually alter in form, but never improve in ſubſtance; and which the artifices of their profeſſors, and the ſtupidity of the million, perpetuate from one age to another, always flattering hope, and always diſappointing expectation. The quackery of phyſic, the chicane of law, the groſs deluſions of popular ſuperſtition, were continual themes of ridicule with the Pruſſian monarch, who, though he appeared as the champion of the proteſtant cauſe againſt the bigotry of the Houſe of Auſtria, as Philip had been appointed the miniſter of Apollo's vengeance againſt the impious Phocians, yet deſpiſed as much as did

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the Macedonian prince, the coarſe engines with which he condeſcended to operate on vulgar credulity. Of his reign throughout, it was the invariable aim to ſimplify the principles, and abridge the proceedings, of law; and notwithſtanding the perverſeneſs of his education, and the contagious company of French infidels, he ſtill admired the modeſt yet ſublime genius of primitive Chriſtianity, and laboured to diminiſh the influence of prieſtcraft, its worſt enemy.

Their enlightened encouragement of productive induſtry.

From oppoſite motives, and with equal zeal, with which thoſe enlightened princes oppoſed the pernicious frauds of buſy idleneſs, they exerted themſelves moſt earneſtly and moſt indefatigably, to promote the uſeful operations of productive induſtry. The ſame ardent ſpirits who were deemed the companions and friends of the ſoldiers, were beloved and reſpected as the guardians of the peaſantry and the poor. With their own hands they gave the ſalutary example of rural labours; and condeſcended to direct and aſſiſt the humble induſtry of the miner and mechanic. Eſtimating things by their intrinſic worth, not by their appearance or their name, Frederick valued the moſt obſcure labourer as a perſon more important to the ſtate, than the ſupercilious hypocriſy of the moſt dogmatical Theologian, who with meekneſs and charity in his mouth, conceals pride and intereſt in his heart; or the oſtentatious garrulity of the petulant lawyer, and ever promiſing financier, whoſe boaſted dexterity, admired by the multitude, enables them at beſt but to confound ſenſe, pervert juſtice, and array in the garb of ſcience arts of a ſimilar kind, and only ſomething worſe than the pilfering tricks of the pedlar.

Their amuſements and luxury.

Both Philip and Frederick were paſſionately fond of muſical and dramatic entertainments; they delighted in the company of men of wit and humour; and as ſuch men in Greece and Macedon were often buffoons and paraſites, Philip has been arraigned by the ſeverity of Theopompus for the profligate extravagance of his companions. As both princes loved wine, and indulged habitually in the ſocial pleaſures of the table, Philip was accuſed as a drunkard, and Frederick as an epicure; the keen eye of malice diſcerning on both occaſions alike, that ſpecific calumny, which would moſt offend or diſguſt their reſpective contemporaries. But admitting that, in ſuch matters the Pruſſian, as well as the Macedonian, treſpaſſed the bounds of manly auſterity, and even deviated into the ſcrupulous delicacy of exceſſive refinement, yet it muſt be remembered, that both princes well knew, that what is vice in men of moderate fortunes, becauſe in them it leads to ruin, is elegance in a wealthy nobleman; and that what would be extravagance in a nobleman, however wealthy, is magnificence in a great monarch. To a king, the expences of a table and of an opera are paltry conſiderations; it is the diſſipation of a court, not the perſonal luxury of the prince, that can oppreſs the people; and however ſumptuouſly Philip and Frederick might fare, and however elegantly they enjoyed private life, the coſtlineſs of their domeſtic eſtabliſhments never affected thoſe great principles which regulated their public adminiſtration. At their keen and diſcerning glance, the pompous ſcience of political œconomy, which has been the object of ſo many laws, and the ſubject of ſo many elaborate diſſertations, ſhrunk into one ſimple and univerſal principle, "Produce much, and conſume leſs than you produce." By encouraging induſtry and diſcouraging luxury; by equally protecting all ranks of the community, but eſpecially patroniſing that portion which forms and perpetuates the ſtrength and populouſneſs of the ſtate, the ſalutary purpoſes of national proſperity were more effectually promoted in Macedon and Brandenburgh, in proportion to the means of improvement which thoſe countries enjoyed, than they have ever been attained elſewhere, by the perplexed intricacies of finance, and the operoſe regulations of police.

Tranſition to their ſyſtem of political œconomy.

It has been obſerved, that the beſt gardeners abound in the worſt climates; and by a modified application of this remark, we may affirm, that kingdoms, the moſt highly favoured in the diſtribution of natural advantages, are generally the worſt governed. In ſome of thoſe kingdoms, the moſt liberal and the moſt enlightened, but where wickedneſs and wretchedneſs are ſtrangely contraſted with opulence and greatneſs, the reſources of the body politic ſeem not to be conſidered as correlative with the united faculties of its component members; ſince government, inſtead of being only ſolicitous to repleniſh the common ſource, is obliged to employ ſtill more care to convey the rich fluid into its particular ciſtern; although greater talents ſurely are required to make a nation flouriſh in reſources, than can ever be ſuppoſed neceſſary to make it pay taxes. Taxes, as generally impoſed and applied, are contributions from the public, and ſometimes one portion of the public, to ſupply the luxury of another, and to protect the ſafety of the whole. The latter object may be openly profeſſed, and for the moſt part readily accompliſhed, ſince men who are able, will commonly be willing, to pay for their own defence; but to pamper the riot of extravagance, to feed the idle retinue of vice and folly, or to blazon in gold and diamonds the effrontery of proſtitution, for ſuch unworthy purpoſes the moſt unfeeling impudence cannot require the hard-earned bread of the labourer, without diſguiſing what it would be dangerous to avow, melting the tax into the price, rendering paſſion, and even the ruinous paſſion for play, a productive ſource of revenue, and thus ſtealing from public ignorance, what cannot be demanded from public juſtice. The abuſes reſulting from one ſyſtem of government may be more flagrant than thoſe congenial to another; and certainly the worſt abuſes of liberty ſpeculatively diſappear in contemplation of that ineſtimable benefit: But if the poor labourer is unneceſſarily deprived of the fruits of his induſtry, it little matters in fact, whether he is cheated or robbed, except that the generous robber will ſometimes be contented with a part; whereas to ſatisfy the deceitful purloiner, and his endleſs train of inſtruments and accomplices, the wretched tributary muſt relinquiſh his whole ſtock; and while he boaſts, perhaps, the glorious freedom of his conſtitution, muſt ſubmit to an alternative of the meaneſt or ſevereſt ſlavery, depend on charity for his daily bread, or ſubject his body to inceſſant toil; while he condemns his children to premature drudgery, deſtructive to health, and ruinous to morals.

Their natural and cordial adminiſtration.

Under the natural and cordial adminiſtration of Philip and of Frederick (for ſuch epithets belong to monarchy when the king is a guardian and a father), the happineſs of the ſubject was aſſociated with the glory of the prince; and the greateſt pride of the prince aroſe from the proſperity of the people. Their induſtry, attachment, and valour were his opulence and grandeur; his talents and his treaſury formed their ornament and ſupport. The principal luxury of thoſe enlightened princes was that of ſocial feſtivity and learned elegance, which, like charity, ſeldom exceeds the limits preſcribed by prudence, not that of vain pageantry and frivolous oſtentation, whoſe profuſion is unbounded.

Interchange the cuſtoms of their reſpective ages.

With a view to gratify their ambition of foreign conqueſt, without domeſtic oppreſſion, Frederick and Philip interchanged the cuſtomary inſtitutions of their reſpective ages; the one by reviving a practice ancient and almoſt forgotten, the other by anticipating futurity. The well-known cuſtom of funding, which in modern times has been carried to ſuch exceſs as threatens to overturn

turn the governments which it was meant to uphold, was firſt invented by the Macedonian; and in his peculiar ſituation, proved uſeful. With the money which he borrowed at comparatively low intereſt from the commercial and wealthy Greeks, he not only augmented his army and embelliſhed Macedon, but facilitated his intrigues in Greece, and finally atchieved its conqueſt. Frederick, on the other hand, convinced of the powerful energy of ready money, kept always a year's advance in his exchequer, and is one of the few princes in later times, who amaſſed a rich treaſury. His pay was moderate, but punctual; it was not by the ſplendour of their expence, that he wiſhed his miniſters to ſhine in foreign courts, or his magiſtrates to be diſtinguiſhed at home: his magazines of arms and ammunition were purchaſed with half the ſums conſumed in the preparations of his enemies: his country was diſburdened of an unproductive crowd employed in the neighbouring ſtates to adminiſter the public debts; and the king had always money at command, to perform ſeaſonably the great functions of the ſtateſman, without whoſe vigilant interpoſition,

terpoſition, he well knew, that, whatever dreaming theoriſts might pretend, little advancement could be made towards national proſperity.

Their vigilance and activity,

In his youth, Frederick had refuted the pernicious tenets of Machiavel; in his advanced years, he took up the pen to expoſe the faſhionable but abſurd doctrine of Materialiſm: But the tranſactions of his whole life arraign the extravagance of that œconomical ſyſtem, invented by the falſe ſubtlety of Italy*, that the ſtate machine is capable of playing regularly, and producing the moſt ſalutary effects, without being directed by the ſkilful hand of the political artiſt. The condition of a king ought not, he ſuppoſed, to reſemble that of the Epicurean deities, baſking in the continual ſunſhine of enjoyment, ſurrounded with unalterable delights, and only ſolicitous that nothing may diſturb their profound ſenſe of unvaried ſerenity. Inſtead of the ſecure indolence in which thoſe fancied beings placed their imaginary happineſs, the lives both of Philip and Frederick exhibit a contentious and buſy ſcene of perſevering and proſperous exertion. To the fatigues of war, ſucceeded the labours of peace: to found cities, to build harbours, to drain marſhes, to improve waſte lands, to plant them with new colonies; and according to the various exigencies of commercial intercourſe, to interchange their arts, their occupations, and even their inhabitants, that the induſtry of one claſs of men might be uſefully employed to excite and to cheriſh the induſtry of another: Such, during the ſhort intervals of ſucceſsful war, were the meritorious employments to which Philip and Frederick deſtined even the firſt moments of returning tranquillity, employments which cover them with more real glory than their proudeſt triumphs, and richeſt conqueſts.

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* See Vico Neapolitano Scienza nuova, and Count Verri Œconomia politica.

in promoting objects of public utility.

The domeſtic arrangements of Macedon and Brandenburgh were directed by the ſkill, and maintained, as well as made, at the expence of their reſpective ſovereigns. In the annals of hiſtory, it will be impoſſible to diſcover any examples of princes, confined

Their unexampled ſucceſs in improving their dominions.

confined by ſuch limited revenues, applying ſo many millions to the public ornament or the public uſe. And yet, ſo prevalent is malignity and envy! this ſeaſonable interference in the affairs of their ſubjects, has been ſtigmatized as tyranny, by many Grecian and many German writers; an accuſation which thoſe illuſtrious monarchs might repel by the following facts. At their reſpective demiſe, their kingdoms, taken ſeparately, exceeded the extent of 60,000 ſquare miles. Having doubled their territories, they had likewiſe doubled their armies. Amidſt expenſive and bloody wars, Frederick had formed a treaſury, and without impoſing any new tax, both Philip and Frederick had trebled their revenues, and trebled the number of their formerly deſpiſed and ignorant, but now intelligent and happy ſubjects. Warmed by their genial influence, the wilds of Thrace and the ſwamps of Pomerania were converted into rich fields waving with yellow harveſts, while the obſcure banks of the Oder and the Axius were adorned by flouriſhing cities, ſeats of the arts, and habitations of peace. Foreign nations admired their greatneſs, and extolled their courage; the Pruſſians and Macedonians praiſed their goodneſs, and bleſſed their beneficence *.

Extraordinary attention to the education of their ſubjects.

To the important concerns of education, without paying due regard to which, the effects of all public meaſures are precarious and tranſitory, Frederick directed the keeneſt edge of his vigilance. In the principal cities of his dominions, academies were inſtituted for educating the young nobles; of whom the moſt diſtinguiſhed by talents and application were draughted to private and honourable ſeminaries, conducted under the king's immediate eye. In this extraordinary inſtitution, of which Philip however had ſet the example, and in which he formed the men who conquered and divided the kingdoms of the Eaſt, fifteen noble youths were educated by five preceptors of choſen merit, men who had borne arms in the ſervice of their country, who were encouraged by the king's countenance, and

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* See the Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. p. 393, *et ſeq.* in which Alexander gives a ſuccinct account of his father's reign. I was unwilling to crowd my page with references to my own work; but this paſſage, taken from Arrian, will reward the trouble of peruſal.

liberally rewarded by his munificence. For the improvement of the public and parochial ſchools, maſters were allured from Saxony, the Attica of Germany. By the laborious countrymen of Luther, the Pruſſian Calviniſts were inſtructed in the doctrines of their religion and the precepts of their duty. Letters became as univerſal as they are uſeful; and it was ſoon impoſſible to find a Pruſſian peaſant who could not both read and write. His Majeſty gave particular orders to the miniſters of the goſpel to be careful in debarring from the communion table all thoſe whoſe education as well as morals did not appear, after repeated examinations, ſufficient to entitle them to that ſacred privilege.

Similarity in the relation of thoſe princes to foreign powers.

The internal condition and domeſtic inſtitutions of Brandenburgh were analogous to thoſe of Macedon; and in the relation of thoſe countries to neighbouring powers, in the foreign negotiations of their reſpective princes, as well as in the principal tranſactions of their illuſtrious reigns, there is a reſemblance equally intereſting and extraordinary. In material and oſtenſible reſources both

Thoſe of Philip;

both Philip and Frederick were extremely deficient; but this diſadvantage was compenſated by their own intellectual excellencies, the zeal and activity of their ſubjects, above all by the weakneſs or worthleſſneſs of their neighbours and enemies. Towards the north of Macedon, the Thracians and Scythians, as well as the Illyrians on its weſtern frontier, were nations fierce and warlike, but barbarous and undiſciplined, impatient of ſubjection but incapable of union, and alike deſtitute of ſagacity to contrive, perſeverance to conduct, or means to execute any memorable enterpriſe. Towards the eaſt of Philip's kingdom, the natives of lower Aſia were wealthy and populous, and had long flouriſhed in the arts of peace; but they were diſſolved in luxury, and degraded by deſpotiſm. On his ſouthern frontier, that magnanimous prince, doubtleſs, encountered adverſaries worthy of his arms, and experienced in the Greeks the united reſiſtance of ſkill and valour. There was a Demoſthenes to ſpeak, and a Phocion to act; and other ſtateſmen and generals well qualified to conduct, a people of ſoldiers and citizens in the paths of honour and ſecurity. But the unceaſing animoſities of contending ſtates blinded theſe unfortunate republicans to the deſtructive deſigns of the common enemy; their vigour was exhauſted in domeſtic conflicts; and their nation abounded in traitors ſo profligate and ſo daring, that the dexterity of Philip was enabled to conquer Greece by the vices of thoſe very men whoſe anceſtors had invincibly defended that country by their virtues.

of Frederick.

In extent, in populouſneſs, and in wealth, the dominions of Frederick were not more conſiderable than thoſe of Philip; and in contemplation of ſuch external advantages alone, had he compared his reſources with thoſe of neighbouring powers, the proſpect on all ſides muſt have damped his ambition. Depending on his diminutive territory and ſcanty revenue, could he venture without the utmoſt imprudence to oppoſe the flouriſhing vigour of the Houſe of Auſtria, the conſolidated ſtrength of France, and the growing greatneſs of Ruſſia, not to mention the Swedes, famed for martial ſpirit, and the invidious jealouſy of his neareſt neighbours, the electors of Hanover and Saxony, reſpectively kings of England and Poland, and alike willing to exhauſt the reſources of their kingdoms in maintaining the cauſe of their electorates? Frederick had conſidered this vaſt diſproportion between the ſmallneſs of his means, and the greatneſs of his deſigns; he had conſidered likewiſe that his territories, ſcattered at wide intervals from Courland to Brabant, and compreſſed on every ſide by warlike and hoſtile ſtates, were peculiarly liable to devaſtation or conqueſt. But he perceived at the ſame time, that the narrow and divided diſtricts which compoſed his kingdom, were peculiarly enriched by navigable rivers, adapted to the tranſportation of arms and magazines; and that if, truſting to the ſenſe of honour with which he had inſpired the diſciplined bravery of his troops, he ſhould adopt a ſyſtem of conduct as bold as his character, and inſtead of being contented with ſafety, aſpire to renown, that the particular ſituation of his territories would enable him with ſingular advantage to invade the dominions of his

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neighbours, and to ſpread the terror of his name through the wide extent of Germany. The exertions of nations, he well knew, depend, not merely on the force which impels, but on the ſkill which directs their motions: and an attentive examination and profound knowledge of thoſe who ruled Europe during the moſt important emergencies of his reign, afforded motives well fitted to encourage his reſolution and embolden his confidence. In Auſtria, the ſceptre of Charles V. had deſcended to a woman and a bigot, not indeed deficient in talents nor wanting in dignity, but diſgraced by prejudice and often domineered by paſſion. The pacific tameneſs of Lewis XV. of France ſtill retained him the humble pupil of Cardinal Fleury, a formal old prieſt, in whom caution ſupplied the place of humanity, and who loved peace becauſe he dreaded war. The oſtentatious vanity of Auguſtus III. king of Poland was governed by the frivolous emptineſs of the perfidious Count Bruhl, who ſacrificed the intereſts of his maſter to the gratification of his own paſſions. The indolent and voluptuous Anne, empreſs of Ruſſia, regretted every hour dedicated to buſineſs as an hour loſt to pleaſure, and ſubmitted the direction of her councils to whomever ſhe had yielded the poſſeſſion of her perſon. George II. of England was, indeed, a prince of undaunted courage and moſt exemplary probity, but his abilities correſponded not to his virtues. His punctilious littleneſs was better adapted to the minute detail of a German electorate, than to the diſtinguiſhed part which, as ſovereign of Great Britain, he was called to act on the theatre of Europe. Frederick ſoon diſcerned his excellencies and his defects; his partiality for his electorate was improved with patient aſſiduity; his youthful animoſity to France was inflamed into implacable hatred; and at a ſeaſon moſt critical, George, from a rival and an enemy, was converted into Frederick's moſt zealous and moſt ſtedfaſt friend.

Correſponding tranſactions in their reigns.

Such were the relative and external ſituations of the princes whoſe characters I have preſumed to delineate; and in the principal tranſactions of their reigns there may alſo be diſcovered a more than ordinary degree of analogy. The unexpected invaſion of Saxony reſembles, both in its motives and in its execution, the rapid deſolation of Phocis: the ſingular revolutions of the ſeven years war, during which Frederick fought and negotiated with all the powers of Europe, may be compared with that long train of military operations and political intrigues by which Philip ſubdued Greece; and the conqueſt of the Perſian empire, which the father of Alexander undertook, but lived not to accompliſh, ſplendid as that enterpriſe was, cannot ſurely be better paralleled, than by the boldneſs of an old man of ſeventy-four, born to inherit the barren ſands of Brandenburgh, preſcribing limits to the ambition of a young emperor, fortified by his alliance with the greateſt powers of the continent, and ſupported by the blooming reſources of the Houſe of Auſtria.

Their impenetrable policy;

It is a queſtion, which I preſume not to determine, whether either Philip or Frederick excelled moſt in war or in negociation. Yet in their talents for the latter, they ſeem to be moſt peculiarly diſtinguiſhed from other men, and moſt nearly to reſemble each other. In ſeveral characteriſtic excellencies they may, perhaps, have been equalled or ſurpaſſed; but in the impenetrable depths of their policy, they ſtand alone and unrivalled. The aim of Cæſar and of Alexander was more aſpiring; that of Titus and of Antonine was more laudable; but in effecting their ſeveral purpoſes, neither theſe nor any other great princes ever diſcovered ſuch penetrating foreſight or ſuch patient dexterity, as appear in the conduct of Philip and of *Frederick*, and render a comparative view of their reigns the moſt engaging of all ſpectacles, to thoſe who delight in ſurveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force or fortune, but the active energies and unfailing reſources of extraordinary natural talents improved by habitual induſtry.

and artificial characters.

Conſtitutionally ardent and impetuous, theſe princes gradually tamed their natures; in youth, open and ingenuous, they learned cloſeneſs and circumſpection from age. But the remembrance of what they once were, enabled them always to appear what they wiſhed to ſeem; and completely diſpaſſionate themſelves, to controul with abſolute ſway the paſſions of other men, and render them uniformly ſubſervient to their own purpoſes.

Diſcriminated by that circumſtance, in which their reſemblance is the ſtrongeſt.

Yet the policy of Philip and of Frederick, though that particular in which their real reſemblance is the ſtrongeſt, will for ever be employed to diſcriminate their characters, to paint them in colours the moſt different, and to diſtinguiſh them by epithets the moſt contradictory. The ſubverſion of the liberties of Greece (of liberties which Greece had long been unworthy to enjoy) throws a dark ſhade on the fame of the Macedonian. Amidſt the tumultuous licence, and profligacy almoſt incredible, of thoſe degenerate republics, Philip employed without delicacy and without ſhame, the engines of intrigue and the arts of corruption. He ſeldom made a promiſe which he did not break, or a treaty which he did not violate; and inſtead of concealing his want of honeſty, he boldly triumphs in his ſubtlety. Bribes, ſpies, traitors, incendiaries, falſe witneſſes and falſe oaths were his uſual inſtruments or accomplices;

and when we contemplate this part of his character, we are forward to pronounce him a deceitful and unfeeling tyrant, who ſtuck at no means however baſe, and rejected no expedients however cruel, to gratify the luſt of ambition by which he was devoured. But Frederick boaſts with becoming dignity, that he had never deceived any man during the whole courſe of his life; and indeed his enemies muſt allow, that he ſeldom commenced the hoſtilities of fraud, or was the firſt to lay the ſnares of deceit, although he appears on all occaſions as willing as able to encounter art with ſimilar addreſs; and confeſſes in two inſtances, a departure from his boaſted integrity, ſince he avows miſrepreſenting to the court of St. Peterſburg Prince Kaünitz's declarations reſpecting the diviſion of Poland, and acknowledges putting his foot on a letter negligently dropped by the French envoy Valori, and diſmiſſing that miniſter abruptly, that he might gain an opportunity of ſecretly reading what he had ſurreptitiouſly obtained. The conqueſt of Sileſia, the partition of Poland, and ſome leſs memorable events of his reign, will bear very different conſtructions: they may be blackened by ſatire; they may be blazoned by panegyric. Yet, on the whole, it cannot be diſſembled that, compared with the king of Macedon, Frederick is to be regarded as a prince of ſtrict faith and exemplary probity.

That paradox explained.

Yet this advantage which *appears* so honourable to the modern prince, is *really* honourable to modern times; ſince, in this particular, the lines of reſemblance were rather diſtorted by ſituation, than eſſentially different. Without preſuming to determine what modification Frederick's morals might have undergone, had he been the contemporary of ſuch monſters of luſt and cruelty as Chares or Olympias, we may venture to affirm that Philip's tranſactions would have been leſs daring and leſs diſgraceful, had he flouriſhed in the eighteenth century. In the age and country where it was his lot to live, men abounded in energy, fortitude, and craft, but were ſtrangely deficient in humanity, decency, and juſtice. For two centuries before and after his reign, Macedon was the theatre

Character of the age in which Philip lived.

of perpetual revolutions, which filled the palace and the capital with civil and domeſtic blood. Poiſon and aſſaſſination were the moſt ordinary expedients for puniſhing an enemy, or removing a rival: and amidſt all his artifices and intrigues, Philip is honourably diſtinguiſhed by uniformly rejecting with deteſtation the uſe of the [illegible] and the dagger. Firm in adverſity, he was moderate in proſperity. When adviſed to deſtroy Athens, the ſeat of his moſt implacable adverſaries, he exclaimed, "Have I done ſo much for glory, and ſhall I demoliſh the principal theatre of that glory!" Demoſthenes, his active and inveterate enemy, long ſurvived the deciſive battle of Chæronæa; and the treaty granted by Philip to his vanquiſhed foes after that deciſive engagement, was not leſs generous than Frederick's treatment of Auguſtus III. king of Poland, when that perfidious and unrelenting adverſary, after being driven from his capital and ſtripped of his revenues, was offered ſuch eaſy conditions of peace, as he could hardly have expected to obtain before his multiplied diſaſters. Many priſoners taken in war, and

His virtues reſemble thoſe of Frederick.

and many towns reduced by aſſault, experienced from Philip, a degree of lenity of which there was hardly an example in the anterior annals of the world. In the language of an ancient orator, he could digeſt an affront, forget injuries, and forgive inſults; and in performing innumerable acts of mercy and of bounty, his favours (as happened alſo to Freder[illegible]) were always enhanced by the graceful or affectionate manner in which they were conferred.

Picture of Philip's magnanimity.

But ſhould we allow, what indeed we muſt allow, that Philip in ſeveral, and Frederick in ſome few, diſgraceful inſtances, much exaggerated however by calumny, ſtooped not only to the lowneſs of deceit, but even to the cowardice of cruelty; yet this melancholy truth would only illuſtrate that wonderful inconſiſtency incident to human nature, and even to the firmeſt minds. With ſuch ignoble and degrading qualities, nothing ſurely can appear more incompatible, than the deſcriptions of the Macedonian prince, which the force of conviction often extorted from the mouth of his moſt exaſperated foe. Even the hatred of Demoſthenes ſeems converted into admiration at the picture which, in order to rouſe his degenerate countrymen from their lethargy, he himſelf draws of the magnanimity of Philip, ſtruggling againſt bad fortune, repairing his diſaſters in one place by ſucceſſes in another; wintering in the open air amidſt the ſnows of Thrace; expoſing his perſon in every encounter; bruiſed in the thigh, his eye tranſpierced with an arrow, yet eager to ſacrifice whatever remained of his body and of his life, provided he may accompliſh his purpoſes, and ſecure his renown.

Paralleled with that of Frederick.

The counterpart to this involuntary panegyric is to be found, and only found, in the magnanimity of Frederick; oppoſing during ſeven campaigns the confederacy of France, Sweden, Germany, and Ruſſia; commanding one army in perſon, while he directed the operations of two others, and of detachments innumerable; embracing in his capacious mind the wide extent of country from the Rhine to the Niemen; amidſt the actual fatigues of war, oppreſſed by the cares of preparation; his horſes often ſhot under him; his body bruiſed by wounds, and tortured by diſeaſe; yet writing to his confidential friends, "I find myſelf equal to all this, and dedicate my moments of leiſure to the delights of philoſophy; which, during his ſevereſt trials, conſoled the Roman conſul, the father of his country, and the beſt model of [illegible]oquence. I ſhall not, I hope, ever prove deficient in my *duty*, but remember that *fortune* is not in my power. Yet my enemies ſhall never triumph over me; there will always be one way left to eſcape their perſecution."

Eſtimate of their military glory.

In contemplating ſuch auguſt forms of fortitude, we forget the dreadful calamities with which theſe ambitious princes were reproached by their contemporaries; the demolition of cities, the deſolation of provinces, thouſands of men rendered miſerable, or deſtroyed in one day by the ſword. Yet to an accurate philoſopher, and even to a man of plain ſenſe and humanity, ſuch enormities will not be ſufficiently juſtified by obſerving, that theſe mo[illegible]chs expoſed their own perſons as much as thoſe of their ſubjects, becauſe the danger on both ſides was equal, but the reward infinitely greater on the ſide of the monarch. A more plauſible excuſe may be found in the univerſal admiration for military glory, and the praiſes beſtowed by mankind rather on their deſtroyers than on their benefactors; yet the wiſdom of Philip and of Frederick might have taught them to deſpiſe the vain acclamations of the vulgar. In their vindication, however, they might ſtill urge, that their induſtry repaired the evils which their ambition had occaſioned; that if great numbers periſhed in their wars, ſtill greater were produced by their policy; that the populouſneſs of their ſtates increaſed beyond example, and almoſt beyond belief; and that ſuch, unfortunately, is the conſtitution of human affairs, and of nature itſelf, that the principles of life are blended with the ſeeds of death; that without danger and toil, it is impoſſible to enjoy victory and triumph; and that war, in fine, is the mother of arts, being indiſpenſably neceſſary to awaken that energy, and to excite thoſe exertions, which alone can produce any extraordinary advancement towards national proſperity. Yet ſuch arguments are not abſolutely concluſive; becauſe the evil was preſent and certain, the good diſtant and contingent : and I much fear, that the military glory of thoſe renowned conquerors muſt not be examined too nicely, leſt that which at a diſtance ſhows an ineſtimable diamond, prove on a nearer ſurvey but a ſparkling bauble.

This parallel remarkable for the number of circumſtances compared.

The parallel here drawn is remarkable, not only for the exactneſs of its correſpondence, but for the greatneſs of its extent. Between great generals and great ſtateſmen, it is eaſy to find a reſemblance; and the ambition of one prince is often the ambition of another. But to compare Philip and Frederick, is to delineate two men, whoſe individual characters would ſupply copious materials for a large volume of illuſtrious lives. Directing the minute induſtry of his peaſants, and directing the operations of the ſiege of Schweidnitz, refuting the ſyſtem of nature, and repelling Mareſchal Daun, compoſing the preface to the *Henriade*, and ſettling the peace of

Germany;—Frederick engaged in theſe and many other ſeemingly incompatible occupations, appears rather a creature of fancy than a real exiſtence, not one man, but an epitome of human induſtry. By the confeſſion of Demoſthenes, who ſurely wiſhed not to exalt the merit of Philip, it required the gracefulneſs of Ariſtodemus, the wit of Philocrates, and, as he ſilently inſinuates, his own eloquence, to form a parallel to the Macedonian prince. Yet how many accompliſhments of that prince ſtill remained untold, to which none of thoſe celebrated Athenians could lay claim? His invincible fortitude, his unremitting vigilance, his unalterable preſence of mind amidſt the greateſt difficulties and dangers; in one word, that great and complex art, the art likewiſe of Frederick, of converting a barbarous and deſpiſed diſtrict into a powerful and reſpected kingdom. The parallel between the ancient and modern monarch is the more deſerving therefore of attention, on account of the unexampled variety of circumſtances of which it conſiſts; and this variety again, conſidered abſtractedly, forms itſelf the moſt intereſting link in the whole chain of compariſon.

Their deaths form a ſtriking contraſt.

Notwithſtanding the ſtriking coincidence in the lives of thoſe illuſtrious princes, their deaths form a remarkable contraſt. At the age of forty-ſeven, Philip periſhed by the hands of an aſſaſſin, while preparing to carry his arms into Aſia. But his deſign did not periſh with him, ſince the generals whom he had formed by his precepts and his example, ſubdued the monarchy of Cyrus, and divided the kingdoms of the ancient world, which were long governed by their poſterity. Frederick reigned preciſely as many years as Philip lived; and died at the age of ſeventy-five, ſurrounded by a new generation of friends, who attended with affectionate concern his laſt moments, reading, till his dull ear could hear them no longer, favourite paſſages of Cicero and Plutarch, which he had marked with his own hand. The laſt exertion of his valour and policy was employed in defending the liberties of Germany, and preventing the independent and warlike ſtates of that flouriſhing country from becoming tame

The laſt public tranſactions of Frederick.

and truckling provinces of one overgrown monarchy. For ſeven years before his death, his ſword was ſheathed, and the mildneſs of his ſetting ſun, which had blazed ſo fiercely at its meridian, diffuſed beneficence and mercy, cheriſhed public proſperity, and ſuſtained in his warlike ſubjects that generous ſpirit of national emulation which his genius firſt inſpired.

Reaſons for publiſhing the following narrative.

In order to juſtify or illuſtrate this Parallel, it would be neceſſary to deſcribe with brevity the moſt memorable tranſactions of the two monarchs: but having formerly dedicated four chapters in my Hiſtory of Ancient Greece to the reign of Philip, I ſhall now endeavour to compriſe in nearly the ſame compaſs the reign of Frederick; employing principally the materials in his own copious Memoirs, written by that monarch at intervals of leiſure from important concerns, and ſwelled by perpetual repetitions, yet containing much intereſting information on the ſubjects of war and government; and exhibiting the character of its illuſtrious author under a point of view more reſpectable and more engaging than

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he has hitherto appeared even to the warmeſt of his admirers. Since the age of Plutarch, this comparative kind of writing, which, in imitation of ſo great a model, I here preſume to attempt, has been rarely, and I believe not very ſucceſsfully, cultivated, though perhaps there is not any ſpecies of compoſition better adapted to enlarge comprehenſion, or ſharpen diſcernment; to enrich the ſtores of fancy, or regulate the deciſions of judgment. And of all parallels, the moſt agreeable ſurely, as well as the moſt uſeful, are thoſe which embrace the memorable tranſactions and diſtinguiſhed ornaments of ancient and modern hiſtory. In comparing men of the ſame age or country, or even of different ages and countries, in which the manners like thoſe of modern Europe have been moulded by religion and policy into nearly the ſame form, the fancy is tired by a perpetual recurrence of objects and images almoſt identical; but in parallels of our illuſtrious contemporaries with men who have flouriſhed at remote periods of antiquity, the lines of compariſon converge from a larger circumference, and afford a proſpect not only wider and more magnificent, but alſo more highly varied.

For publiſhing this ſmall volume, therefore, any apology ſeems unneceſſary; yet the two following obſervations may not be unſeaſonable. On moſt occaſions it is imprudent to write the hiſtory of great events, or the lives of great men, till many years after the former happened, and the latter flouriſhed. But the circumſtances attending the reign of Frederick, are peculiar. That enlightened prince has been his own hiſtorian. His accounts of foreign affairs, indeed, are often imperfect, and ſometimes erroneous; the ignorant Michel, his reſident at the Britiſh court, totally miſled him as to the domeſtic tranſactions of England; but in what perſonally concerns himſelf, little new information can be expected, and none more authentic than that contained in his own commentaries, which in the nature and value of their materials form the counterpart, and in their diffuſive copiouſneſs, the contraſt to the commentaries of Cæſar, In the preciſion of Cæſar, we recogniſe the ſublime character of the Dictator; but we regret that he frequently relates even his battles with a brevity reſembling that with which Virgil conveys the impreſſion of beauty *. The military operations of Frederick are on the contrary involved in ſuch a perplexity of marches and manœuvres, and loaded with ſuch an accumulation of local circumſtances, that although it would be unjuſt to claſs his deſcriptions with the prepoſterous delineation of Helen, by the Monk Conſtantine Manaſſes †, yet we may preſume to compare them with the crowded picture which his admired Arioſto ‡ has given of the charms of Alcina. By the vigour of his inexhauſtible fancy, that delightful poet has enli-

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* Pulcherrima Dido.

† Ην ἡ γυνη περικαλλης, ευοφρυς, ευχρουστατη, Ευπαρειος, ευπροσωπος, βοωπις, χιονοχρους.—And ſo on, heaping epithet upon epithet for a dozen lines.

Conſtant. Manaſſ. Chron. p. 20. Edit. Venet.

‡ Arioſt. Canto vii. ſtanz. xi.

Di perſona era tanto ben formata
Quanto ne finger ſan pittori induſtri
Con bionda chioma, lunga, & annodata, &c.

Continues through five ſtanzas of eight lines each.

vened and rendered alluring the detached features of the fair enchantreſs; but all the expreſſive energy of his diction is unable to communicate any diſtinct idea of the whole original, becauſe the moſt ductile imagination is incapable of joining his ſucceſſive images into one ſimultaneous picture; and the perverſe ingenuity of the poet reſembles the fruitleſs operation of rolling ſtones with much labour up one ſide of a hill, which have no ſooner reached the ſummit, than they tumble impetuouſly down the other.

Yet to thoſe who enjoy an opportunity of patiently examining the ground with Frederick's Memoirs in their hands, the circumſtantial minuteneſs of his narrative may prove ineſtimably valuable, eſpecially ſhould they be called to head armies or command detachments in the countries which formed the glorious ſcene of his victories. But except by this deſcription of men, I much fear, that his prolix account of military movements will not be generally reliſhed, or even generally underſtood.

ſtood. The chuſing of a poſt, or the manœuvre of a line, depends on the vicinity of an eminence more or leſs elevated, the form of a ravine more or leſs deep, the narrowneſs of a defile, the ſhallowneſs of a marſh or a river, and innumerable other particularities, which it is impoſſible for words fully to deſcribe, and hardly poſſible for plans accurately to delineate; ſince from attempts of this nature, books have been ſwelled to an immoderate ſize; and ſome of the largeſt plans hitherto publiſhed, have been ſo darkened and ſo crowded, that it is often fruitleſs and always painful to conſult them. For the ſatisfaction however of the young ſoldier, who, to the ſpirit of his profeſſion, adds the deſire of diſtinction, and therefore the love of information, but who enjoys not an opportunity of accurately ſurveying the various countries in which the Pruſſians fought and conquered, it may not be an uſeleſs or ungrateful taſk to give a ſuccinct, but clear and connected, view of thoſe great and deciſive operations, the ſcenes of which being boldly marked by the hand of nature, admit preciſion and perſpicuity of geographical deſcription; and which are thereby the beſt adapted to illuſtrate that ſublime theory, by the judicious application of which Frederick overcame difficulties ſeemingly inſurmountable. In the following narrative, therefore, though none of his battles are omitted; yet thoſe only are circumſtantially deſcribed, which ſerve to explain his improvements of the military art, and to diſplay his conſummate talents as a general.

The character of that illuſtrious prince deſerved, and has obtained, the warmeſt gratitude of men of letters in every part of Europe. His perſonal qualities have been delineated by numerous biographers; the anecdotes of his private life have been laboriouſly accumulated; even the minute and tranſient occurrences of his reign fill many a ponderous volume. But the deſign of the preſent work is confined to thoſe tranſactions in peace and war, the effects of which being extenſive and permanent, communicate importance to circumſtances otherwiſe trivial, to the figure, the air, and the de-

demeanour, and even to the petty habits and occaſional amuſements of a man ſo extraordinary.

London,
New Norfolk ſtreet,
30th March, 1789.

A

VIEW

OF THE

REIGN of FREDERICK II.

CHAP. I.

State of Pruſſia at Frederick's acceſſion. Of Auſtria. The pragmatic ſanction. Botta's negotiation. Frederick invades Sileſia. Obſtinate reſiſtance of Neiſſe. Negotiations during the winter. The campaign 1741. The battle of Molwitz. Its conſequences. Diſpoſition of the courts of Europe. Negociations with France. With England. Neuperg's plot. Anticipated by Frederick. He amuſes the Dutch and Engliſh. Rejects Maria Thereſa's overtures. Ambitious views of France reſpecting the diſtribution of power in Germany. Frederick defeats her ſchemes. Concludes a treaty with Maria Thereſa. Receives the ſubmiſſion of his new ſubjects. Diet of election. Elector

Elector of Bavaria choſen emperor. Intrigues in the court of Saxony. Frederick invades Moravia, and then Bohemia. Battle of Czaſlau. Peace of Breſlaw.

CHAP. I.

State of Pruſſia at the death of Frederick William, 31ſt May, 1740.

AT the death of Frederick William, his late Majeſty's father, the revenues of Pruſſia amounted to ſeven millions and four hundred thouſand crowns; the crown or thaler of Brandenburgh being then, as it ſtill continues, nearly equivalent to three ſhillings and four pence ſterling. The populouſneſs of that kingdom ſcarcely exceeded 2,200,000 perſons; the treaſury contained 8,700,000 crowns; but Pruſſia loſt annually by the balance of trade above the eighth part of that ſum. The army conſiſted of 76,000 men, of whom more than one-third were foreigners. Such were the ſcanty reſources of a monarchy, of which the ſubjects were poor, and the territories unfruitful; and ſcattered at ſuch diſtances from each other, over the wide extent of country between Courland and Brabant, that it was eaſy to attack, and difficult to defend them.

Of Auſtria.

Charles VI. was then emperor. He had juſt concluded an unfortunate war againſt the Turks, to whom he had been compelled to cede the province of Servia, part of the dutchy of Moldavia, and the important city of Belgrade. Endowed with much application, Charles wanted genius. He ſpoke different languages, and underſtood the public law of the empire; but he nicely adjuſted the ceremonial of the court, and he was a ſuperſtitious bigot, like all * the princes of the Houſe of Auſtria. Yet while prince Eugene headed his armies and directed his councils, Charles proſpered in war and negociation. But that great man, like his rivals in fame Marlborough and Condé, loſt the health of his mind, before his body fell to decay. The imbecility of prince Eugene was followed by intrigues among the Auſtrian courtiers, who had long envied his power without poſſeſſing any ſhare of his merit. The voluptuous and haughty count Zinzendorf, having obtained an aſcendency over the feeble mind of Charles, his preſumption

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* Such is Frederick's expreſſion, but I do not warrant his ſeverity.

offended the Auſtrian nobility, and diſguſted the princes of the empire. By his advice forty thouſand of the beſt troops were diſbanded, and the remainder were allowed to remain inactive in Hungary, after the peace with the Turks. Charles's whole forces amounted to 82,000 effective men, and his revenues were computed at 20,000,000 crowns. But he was loaded with debt; his finances were ill-adminiſtered; his generals were at variance; and open diſcord prevailed among his miniſters. Overwhelmed by the difficulties of his ſituation, the emperor often lamented the vanity of greatneſs; and his uneaſineſs of mind haſtened an event highly intereſting to Europe. He died the 26th of October 1740.

The pragmatic ſanction.

Charles VI. was the laſt male of the Houſe of Hapſbourgh. By a domeſtic ſettlement, diſguiſed under the name of the pragmatic ſanction, he had endeavoured to ſecure the inheritance of his vaſt dominions to his daughter Maria Thereſa. This act had been guaranteed by France, England, Holland, Sardinia, Saxony, and the holy

Roman empire. Frederick William, king of Pruſſia, acceded to the ſame treaty; but upon the expreſs condition that the court of Vienna made good his right of ſucceſſion to the diſtricts of Juliers and Bergen. Inſtead of performing this condition, Charles VI. promiſed theſe diſtricts ſucceſſively to the elector of Saxony, and to the prince of Salzbach. At the death of Frederick William, his ſon Frederick II. thus found himſelf happily diſengaged from his father's ſtipulation with the imperial court, and fully entitled to adopt ſuch meaſures as beſt ſuited the intereſt of his kingdom. He raiſed fifteen new battalions; began to embody and form his cavalry; and at the emperor's *demiſe*, his magazines were well furniſhed, his coffers full, and his troops ready to march. Having learned that important event at Reinſberg, when he was himſelf confined by the ague, he made uſe of the bark, contrary to the advice of his phyſicians, and haſtened to undertake an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which was to decide the fortune and glory of his reign.

The

Frederick's reaſons for invading Sileſia.

The Houſe of Brandenburgh had incontrovertible claims to the two principalities of Sileſia, which were nearly as extenſive, and fully as valuable, as one half the territories which that Houſe actually poſſeſſed. Beſides the vaſt importance of theſe principalities, their ſituation on the eaſtern frontier of Brandenburgh rendered their conqueſt leſs difficult than that of Juliers and Bergen; and by the boldneſs of invading the rich province of Sileſia in the firſt year of his reign, Frederick hoped to reſcue his family and his ſubjects from the reproach of tameneſs and puſillanimity under which they had long laboured. In the year 1727, his father had diſputes with the Hanoverians, which terminated amicably, but not very honourably. In the ſame peaceful manner Frederick William had ſettled his differences with the Dutch. His moderation was conſtrued into timidity; and neighbouring powers expected to inſult him with impunity. His ambaſſador was diſgracefully treated by an inſignificant biſhop of Liege. George II. of Great Britain called him his brother the corporal. His officers were conſidered as mere adventurers in the trade of arms; his ſoldiers, as vile mercenaries; and the name of Pruſſian ſeldom occurred without ſome contumelious jeſt, or ſome diſgraceful epithet. The country itſelf, notwithſtanding its royal appellation, formed an undeſcribed ſpecies of hermaphrodite monarchy, which partook rather of the meanneſs of an electorate, than of the dignity of a kingdom. Honour required that its doubtful rank ſhould be decided; and this conſideration was not the leaſt powerful in precipitating an enterpriſe manifeſtly attended with great difficulties.

Difficulties attending that enterpriſe.

Frederick had weighed theſe difficulties. The powerful Houſe of Auſtria, with its numerous provinces and vaſt reſources; the formidable confederacy which had guaranteed the ſucceſſion of Maria Thereſa; the ſeverity of the winter 1740, which made it difficult to keep great armies in the field; Pruſſia, deſtitute of allies, and its troops unacquainted with ſervice, againſt veterans diſciplined by prince Eugene, and hardened in many an obſtinate campaign. Yet the rivalſhip between France and England afforded reaſon to hope, that whoever was expoſed to the reſentment of one of thoſe powers, would obtain the protection of the other. By the death of the empreſs of Ruſſia, which ſoon followed that of the emperor Charles VI. the crown devolved on Iwan, a child, ſon to the princeſs of Mecklenburgh, and prince Antony Ulric of Brunſwick, brother-in-law to his Pruſſian Majeſty. The prince was weak, the princeſs was capricious, and Munich, the true hero of Ruſſia, was maſter of the government. To him Frederick diſpatched Winterfeld, who had married his daughter; the negociation was ſucceſsful; and Ruſſia was prepared for the events ready to be tranſacted.

Botta's negociation.

Notwithſtanding many precautions for concealment, the forming of magazines, the preparing of cannon, and the movement of troops naturally excited ſuſpicion. Mr. Damrath, the Auſtrian miniſter at Berlin, appriſed his court that a ſtorm threatened, which he much feared would burſt on Sileſia. The queen's council replied from Vienna, "We cannot credit your intelligence."

intelligence." The Marquis Bottá, however, arrived at Berlin to compliment Frederick in the name of Maria Thereſa, and, if poſſible, to penetrate his deſigns. The artful Italian diſcovered at once the project in agitation; and after congratulating Frederick on his acceſſion, expatiated on the bad roads through Sileſia. The king only replied, "That thoſe who had to travel ſuch roads muſt expect to have their boots beſpattered."

The Pruſſians invade Sileſia, December 1740.

Though immovably fixed in his plan, Frederick had ſent Count Gotter to Vienna, to declare to the queen, that ſhould his maſter obtain ſatisfaction reſpecting his pretenſions to Sileſia, that prince would engage to aſſiſt her Majeſty againſt all her enemies, and to raiſe her huſband the Great Duke of Tuſcany to the Imperial throne. As it was foreſeen that this propoſal would be rejected, twenty battalions and thirty-ſix ſquadrons already covered the Sileſian frontier; they were followed by ſix battalions deſtined to block up the fortreſs of Glogau, the firſt place of ſtrength in their way along the weſtern bank of the Oder.

Before

CHAP. I.

Before his departure to join theſe troops, Frederick gave audience to the marquis Botta, who with the vivacity of an Italian exclaimed, "Sire, you are going to ruin the Houſe of Auſtria, and at the ſame time to ruin yourſelf." The king replied, "Your miſtreſs may, if ſhe pleaſes, obtain my aſſiſtance on equitable conditions." The marquis became thoughtful; but ſoon ſtarting from his reverie, obſerved in a tone of irony, "Your troops, Sire," I acknowledge it, "are fine; but ours have ſeen the enemy.—Reflect in time, I beſeech you." Frederick rejoined, "my troops, you ſay, are fine, and you will ſoon know that they are brave." Botta reiterated his ſupplications; but Frederick told him, "That he had already paſſed the Rubicon."

Frederick's ſpeech to his officers, December 1740.

The invaſion of Sileſia being made known at Berlin, excited the murmur of diſcontent, and the terror of deſpondency. To remove theſe dangerous impreſſions, which were encouraged chiefly by the prince of Anhalt, who had adminiſtered the government during the late reign, Frederick aſſembled the officers of the garriſon, and addreſſed them as follows: "In the war which I undertake, my only allies are your affection and valour. Our cauſe is juſt; and our reſources are in fortune. Remember the honourable exertions of your anceſtors in the plains of Warſaw, and the field of Fehrbellin. Your deſtiny depends on yourſelves: honours and rewards await your meritorious exploits. We are going to contend with troops, that under prince Eugene acquired well-earned renown; and our glory, that object which is ever in your view, and which is alone worthy of your labours, our glory will be the greater, becauſe we are called to fight againſt brave men. Go! I will ſoon follow you to the ſcene of triumph that awaits us."

Leaves Berlin, December 1740.

The king left Berlin, after giving a maſked ball, and arrived at Croſſen the 21ſt of December. That day, the bell of the cathedral happened to fall; an event conſidered as highly inauſpicious. But Frederick turned this accident to his advantage, by obſerving, "That it plainly denoted the bringing low that which was exalted; and what could be more exalted than the Houſe of Auſtria?" Whoever knows the people, will underſtand the efficacy of ſuch an argument.

Enters Sileſia, December 23.

The troops marched in diviſions. The ſeverity of the winter prevented their encampment. As they advanced, they were careful every where to proclaim the rights of the Houſe of Brandenburgh; and at the ſame time a manifeſto was publiſhed, ſetting forth that the Pruſſians took poſſeſſion of Sileſia to prevent its being occupied by a third claimant. The Sileſians were thus taught to conſider the Pruſſian army in the light of friends, an opinion ſtrengthened by religion, ſince two-thirds of that people were Proteſtants, who had long felt the oppreſſion of Auſtrian bigotry. Having advanced as far as Glogau, the Pruſſians blockaded that place, the ſevere froſt preventing a formal ſiege. Wenzel Wallis, the governor, had orders from Vienna not to be the aggreſſor; and, as if he had thought that to blockade was not to commit hoſtilities, he patiently allowed himſelf to be ſhut up within his ramparts. Meanwhile general Braun had been ſent to the defence of Sileſia; and with 3000 men attempted to ſurpriſe Breſlaw, the capital; which, being inveſted with the privileges of an Imperial city, formed a little republic apart, governed by its own magiſtrates, and exempted from the maintenance of a garriſon. The prince of Anhalt having arrived at Glogau with ſix battalions and five ſquadrons, the king relieved the troops employed in the blockade, and marched towards Breſlaw with his whole grenadiers, ſix battalions, and ten ſquadrons. At the end of four days he appeared before its gates, while mareſchal Schwerin proceeded along the foot of the mountains by Leignitz, Schweidnitz, and Franckenſtein, in order to drive the enemy from thoſe parts.

His progreſs in that country.

The ditches of Breſlaw were frozen: the citizens had every reaſon to fear an aſſault; and the Pruſſians were already maſters of both ſides of the Oder. It was neceſſary to crave a capitulation; the formalities of which were abridged by the enthuſiaſm of a Lutheran ſhoemaker, who having ſtirred up the religious fury of the populace, compelled the magiſtrates to ſign an act of neutrality with the Pruſſians, and to open their gates. Having entered the city, the king immediately diſmiſſed all perſons in office under the queen of Hungary; a meaſure neceſſary for preventing ſecret intrigues with the townſmen. His Majeſty left a regiment in Breſlaw, and directed his march to Ohlau. The walls of that town were not in a ſtate of defence; the caſtle capitulated. The other places along the Oder were either taken or blocked up.

Obſtinate reſiſtance of Neiſſe.

But the city of Neiſſe made a vigorous reſiſtance. It is ſituate on a river of the ſame name, which forms the ſeparation between Upper and Lower Sileſia. The ſeverity of the weather prevented a regular ſiege; and the activity of Roth the governor, rendered an aſſault impracticable. Every morning he cauſed break the ice which covered the ditches; he poured water on the ramparts, which froze immediately; and he provided the baſtions and curtains with beams armed with ſcythes. The Pruſſians attempted to bombard the place; 1200 bombs and 3000 red-hot balls were expended in vain. The king therefore cantoned his troops around Neiſſe, while mareſchal Schwerin with ſeven battalions and ten ſquadrons overran the weſtern frontier, and diſlodged general Braun from Jagendorf, Troppau, and the caſtle of Graetz. The Auſtrians retreated into Moravia; the Pruſſian quarters were extended to Jablunka, on the frontiers of Hungary.

Negotiations during the winter 1740-1741.

Meanwhile count Gotter ſtill negotiated at Vienna. His commiſſion appeared an ænigma to foreign powers, who could not reconcile his reſidence in that capital with the hoſtile invaſion of Sileſia. The courtiers of the queen of Hungary told him, "It ill became his maſter, whoſe duty it had been in quality of arch-chamberlain of the empire to preſent the baſin to the hands of Maria Thereſa's father, to preſcribe laws to the daughter. Gotter, not yielding in pride, ſhowed publickly in council a letter, in which his Pruſſian majeſty had ſaid, "If the Great Duke is determined on ruin, let him be ruined." That prince was diſconcerted; but the count Kinſky, chancellor of Bohemia, the moſt preſumptuous man in a court where arrogance had fixed her throne, took up the word, treated Gotter's propoſitions as inſults, reanimated the courage of his maſter, and prevailed on him to break off the negotiation. Robinſon, the Engliſh envoy at Vienna, maintained that the king of Pruſſia ought to be reprobated as a politician. But the king, by means of Winterfeld, had concluded a defenſive alliance with Ruſſia. To a letter which he had written to cardinal Fleury, that miniſter returned a very favourable anſwer. Sweden, which was ſtrictly allied with France, had ſent troops into Finland. Pruſſia's greateſt enemies were, as uſual, its neareſt neighbours, the kings of Poland and England, reſpectively electors of Saxony and Hanover. Theſe princes having regained Ruſſia by their intrigues, entered into a treaty for dividing the Pruſſian dominions; and while they declaimed againſt the ambition of the young king, they pleaſed their imaginations with the appropriation of his territories. This was the criſis at which the queen of Hungary might have obtained honourable terms of accommodation. The ceſſion of the duchy of Glogau would have fully ſatisfied Frederick, and procured her the aſſiſtance of that prince againſt all her enemies.

Preparations for the campaign 1741.

Having put his troops into their winter-quarters, the king returned to Berlin, to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the enſuing campaign. A reinforcement of ten battalions and twenty-five ſquadrons was ſent to the army in Sileſia; and to overawe Saxony and Hanover, a camp containing thirty battalions and forty ſquadrons, was formed at Genthin, in the duchy of Magdebourg, a place conveniently ſituate for invading either of thoſe electorates. The Auſtrians on their ſide were not idle. Mareſchal Neuperg, who had been detained in priſon at Brunn ſince the peace of Belgrade, was appointed to command their army. He aſſembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Olmutz in Moravia, and detached general Lentulus to occupy the gorges of the mountains in the principality of Gratz, a poſition that enabled him to cover Bohemia, and to co-operate, when neceſſary, with the forces deſtined to reconquer Sileſia.

February 1741.

The

Frederick narrowly eſcapes falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Auſtrian huſſars ſoon became troubleſome; advanced between the Pruſſian poſts, intercepted convoys, and cut off ſmall detachments. In their ſkirmiſhes they generally prevailed over the king's newly formed cavalry, but his infantry always maintained its honour unimpaired. The Pruſſian reinforcements having arrived at Schweidnitz, his Majeſty determined to examine the quarters of his troops, in a country with which he was as yet unacquainted. The enemy were informed of his deſign, and prepared to intercept him. By miſtake they fell in with a party of dragoons at Baumgarten, which they defeated. His Majeſty heard the report of the fire-arms at Wartha, and haſtened to the ſcene of action. But arriving after the engagement, he had leiſure to reflect on the folly of his enterpriſe; ſince, had his perſon been ſeized by a party far ſuperior to his own, Maria Thereſa would have finiſhed the war without ſtriking another ſtroke.

Takes Glogau, March 9.

The towns of Glogau and Bieg on the Oder were ſtill blocked up, and the ſeaſon was not ſufficiently advanced to convert either blockade into a ſiege. Meanwhile the Auſtrians were continually reinforced by new troops, and it was ſuſpected that they would ſoon attempt to ſurpriſe the Pruſſians in their cantonments, by penetrating through Glatz or Zukmantel. The king gave orders for contracting his quarters, and ordered prince Leopold of Anhalt to aſſault Glogau in nine places at once. The town was taken in the ſpace of an hour; the cavalry having penetrated within the ramparts. Wallis, together with his garriſon, became priſoners of war. None of the citizens were inſulted, no houſe was plundered; the Pruſſian diſcipline ſhone in its full luſtre.

The Auſtrians take the field.

The king's troops however were ſtill too much ſcattered to be collected ſeaſonably. The quarters of mareſchal Schwerin, in Upper Sileſia, were the moſt expoſed. The mareſchal wrote the king, That if joined by a ſmall reinforcement, he would promiſe to maintain his poſt. Frederick weakly yielded to this opinion, and adding raſhneſs to facility, put himſelf at the head of eight ſquadrons and nine battalions, and met the mareſchal at Neuſtadt. The firſt queſtion was, "What news of the enemy?"—"None," replied Schwerin, "except that their troops are diſperſed along the Sileſian frontiers, from the northern confines of Hungary to Braunau in Bohemia, and I expect every moment the return of my ſpies." Next day, the king advanced towards Jagerndorf, on his road to open the trenches before Neiſſe, where he expected the arrival of ſeventeen battalions and fourteen ſquadrons. His majeſty was on the point of his departure, and juſt giving his laſt orders to the mareſchal, when ſeven Auſtrian dragoons were brought to him. Theſe deſerters had left the enemy's cavalry at Freudenthal, about ſix miles diſtant, where their infantry and cannon were likewiſe expected, with which they meant to traverſe the quarters of the Pruſſians, and to compel them to retire from Neiſſe. Meanwhile the noiſe of fire-arms was heard, and every one believed that the van-guard of Mr. Neuperg's army had already aſſaulted Jagerndorf, which contained but five battalions, five pieces of cannon, and forty charges of gunpowder. This however was a falſe a falſe alarm. The aſſailants conſiſted of ſome light troops, which had been ſent to reconnoitre the Pruſſian quarters, for which purpoſe they advanced ſkirmiſhing to the gates of every town which they ſuppoſed in poſſeſſion of the enemy.

Preparations for battle.

The king perceived the neceſſity of aſſembling his army with all poſſible expedition. The blockade of Brieg was raiſed. The duke of Holſtein, who was at Franckenſtein, had orders to join his Majeſty. From the ſecond of April to the tenth, the hoſtile armies kept in the neighbourhood of each other, following for the moſt part parallel lines of march, and both deſcending the Oder towards Brieg. It had ſnowed for ſeveral days, and the ſnow was ſometimes ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh objects at twenty yards diſtance. The Pruſſians were in danger of loſing their magazines at Ohlau and Breſlaw; and, if defeated in battle, they had not any means of retreat. On the tenth of April, which was clear and ſerene, their army, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven battalions, twenty-nine ſquadrons, and three regiments of huſſars, marched in five columns, the artillery in the middle, the diviſions of infantry on each ſide, and the cavalry on the wings. In this order they advanced towards Ohlau, having learned that the enemy were cantoned in the neighbouring villages of Molwitz, Grunigen, and Huneren. As the king was greatly inferior in cavalry, he had mixed in the wings two battalions of grenadiers. When the army approached within two thouſand paces of Molwitz, his Majeſty acknowledges, that inſtead of marching briſkly to ſurpriſe the enemy in their cantonments, he injudiciouſly employed near two hours in extending his columns, and forming his line of battle. According to the diſpoſition which he planned, his right wing ought to have reſted on the village of Herrendorf, and the left to have been flanked by the rivulet of Lauchwitz, which was bordered by a marſh. But on the right, the cavalry not having extended themſelves to Herrendorf, the infantry had not room to form; this obliged the king to withdraw three battalions from the firſt line, with which reſerve he covered the right flank of his infantry; a diſpoſition produced by neceſſity,

ceſſity, yet one principal cauſe of his victory.

The battle of Molwitz, 10th April 1741.

Mareſchal Neuperg, though he had ordered his huſſars to explore the country, particularly on the road to Brieg, had not any intelligence of the king's approach, until he ſaw his army formed in order of battle oppoſite to his cantonments. He was obliged to extend his line under the fire of the Pruſſian cannon. The cavalry commanded by Ræmer, were the firſt in the field. That intelligent officer perceived that Schulenbourg, who commanded the Pruſſian cavalry on the right, wheeled his ſquadrons a quarter circle to reach the village of Herrendorf, by which he expoſed his left flank. During this injudicious manœuvre, Ræmer attacked them without waiting to form; and with his thirty Auſtrian, eaſily repelled the ten Pruſſian ſquadrons, and threw them into diſorder. Their rout would have occaſioned that of the infantry, had not the latter fired on the fugitives. This fire, by which Ræmer was ſlain, made the enemy's cavalry retire, and the two battalions of grenadiers, which had been mixed with Schulenbourg's ſquadrons, bravely maintained their ground, and formed in regular order on the right of the infantry. The king, who ſays that he thought to rally his cavalry as eaſily as he could have collected a pack of hounds, was carried along in their rout to the centre of the army. Having aſſembled a few ſquadrons, he brought them back to the right. It was now their turn to charge the enemy. But troops recently defeated, and haſtily aſſembled, rarely hold firm. Their onſet was feeble; they were ſpeedily diſperſed, and Schulenbourg was ſlain. The Auſtrian cavalry now attacked the right flank of the Pruſſian infantry. Three deſperate charges were repelled. The Auſtrian officers fell dead or wounded among the ranks. By thruſts of the bayonet, the Pruſſians overturned the enemy's horſemen, who periſhed in great numbers. Meanwhile, the Auſtrian infantry advanced, and made incredible efforts to break the king's troops. Theſe troops however, and particularly the three battalions which had been withdrawn from the line, and which now greatly ſtrengthened the flank, reſiſted like a rock, a rock, and by their well-directed fire thinned the enemy's ranks. The Auſtrian fire continued five hours with great vivacity; and the Pruſſians, who had exhauſted their ammunition, were in danger of being obliged to ſurrender for want of gunpowder. In this extremity, they ſtripped the dead of their cartridges, and not only maintained their ground, but advanced on their adverſaries. Meanwhile the Pruſſian cavalry had been victorious on the left. In the beginning of the action, that wing which was ſupported by the marſhy banks of the Lauchwitz had been kept in reſerve; and mareſchal Schwerin watched the opportunity of attacking the enemy's right flank, which being obtained, finally decided the iſſue of this battle. The Auſtrians were totally routed, and driven to the village of Lauchwitz, where darkneſs terminated the purſuit.

Its conſequences.

This engagement, which involved the fate of Sileſia, coſt the queen of Hungary 7000 men, beſides 180 officers, ſeven pieces of cannon, and three ſtandards. The Pruſſians took 1200 priſoners; having loſt in the action 2500 men killed, and 3000 wounded. The firſt battalion of guards loſt the half of its officers; and of 800 men, of which it conſiſted, 180 only remained in a condition to do duty.

Brieg capitulates. April 23.

While Neuperg fled beyond the Neiſſe, the king determined to profit of his victory, by forming the ſiege of Brieg, which capitulated eight days after the opening of the trenches. In order to fill up thoſe trenches, and to victual the place, the army continued three weeks in the camp at Molwitz; which interval was employed in exerciſing the cavalry, and in teaching them to manœuvre with rapidity. They were frequently ſent out in detached parties, to familiariſe them with the varieties of ground, and to accuſtom them to adapt their evolutions to local circumſtances.

Succeſſes of the Pruſſians.

At the head of one of theſe detachments, Winterfeld, who had ſo ſkilfully negotiated in Ruſſia, ſurpriſed and defeated general Paranay at Rothſchlot, and took 300 priſoners. In ſeveral other encounters, the Pruſſians were equally fortunate; and their ſucceſs was much owing to their enjoying the favour of the country, and thereby acquiring good intelligence. But we forbear relating ſuch exploits, becauſe it is our intention to deſcribe the conqueſt of Sileſia, not the operations of huſſars.

Sentiments with which the courts of Europe viewed theſe events.

The battle of Molwitz, in which the Auſtrian veterans had been defeated by raw troops, occaſioned much aſtoniſhment in the empire; it excited the indignation and reſentment of the court of Vienna, which prepared to reinforce Mr. Neuperg; it produced terror and diſmay in the kings of England and Poland, who reſpected the camp at Gentheim, which they had hitherto affected to deſpiſe; and in France, on the other hand, the ſucceſs of Frederick afforded much joy, becauſe to the politicians of that country, the time ſeemed now faſt approaching, when the houſe of Bourbon might finally overwhelm the envied greatneſs of Auſtria. The mareſchal Belleiſle, who was to take charge of the affairs of France at the diet of election to be held at Franckfort, came to the camp of Molwitz, and propoſed a treaty of alliance with the king, for diſmembering the Auſtrian dominions, and

Frederick's negotiations with France;

raiſing

raiſing the elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne. By this treaty, which was written, but not ratified (Frederick being unwilling haſtily to conclude matters of ſuch high moment), France ſtipulated to ſend two armies into Germany; one to ſupport the nomination of the elector of Bavaria, and the other to overawe the Saxons and Hanoverians. Sweden, the ally of France, was likewiſe to be engaged in the quarrel, in order to furniſh ſuch occupation to the Ruſſians on their own frontiers, as might prevent them from interfering in the affairs of Germany. Belleiſle was a true Frenchman, and talked as if the Auſtrian dominions had been already conquered. One day appearing in the king's preſence more thoughtful than uſual, his Majeſty aſked him, whether he had received any bad news? "Not at all," replied the mareſchal; "but the thought that embarraſſes me, Sire, is, what we ſhall make of Moravia." The king propoſed giving it to Saxony, in order to allure the king of Poland into the great alliance; a meaſure highly approved by the mareſchal, and afterwards carried into execution.

with England.

The negotiations of Pruſſia were not confined to France; they extended to England, Holland, and all Europe. George II. ſent two miniſters to the Pruſſian camp; Lord Hyndford for England, and Mr. Schwichelt for Hanover. Though employed by the ſame prince, theſe miniſters had quite different inſtructions. The Hanoverian propoſed that the neutrality of his maſter ſhould be purchaſed by the biſhoprics of Hildeſheim and Oſnaburg, and ſome diſtricts in Mecklenbourg. The Engliſhman offered his good offices to mediate a reconciliation between the powers at war, and to procure for Pruſſia ſome diſtricts in Lower Sileſia. Schwichelt was more jealous of Hyndford, than he was of the mareſchal Belleiſle, and requeſted moſt earneſtly that his negotiation ſhould be concealed from the Engliſh miniſter. In Ruſſia, Finch, the envoy of George II. blew up the flame of diſcord; and, by the intrigues of the ſame prince, the Dutch were perſuaded to write a letter to the king of Pruſſia, exhorting him to withdraw his troops from Sileſia.

Reaſon of Frederick's concluding a treaty with France, June 1741.

This duplicity in the court of England determined the king to conclude his treaty with France, to which two articles were added; 1. That the French ſhould take the field before the end of Auguſt: 2. That the treaty ſhould be concealed until the publiſhing it occaſioned no detriment to the king's affairs. This precaution was neceſſary; for the hoſtile intentions of Ruſſia had already become manifeſt; 6000 Danes and as many Heſſians had been hired by Engliſh money to join the Hanoverians, who had been encamped ſince the month of April; and the Saxons prepared to reinforce the ſame army. In order to gain time for the arrival of French ſuccours, it was neceſſary to amuſe the Engliſh and Hanoverian miniſters. His Majeſty ſucceeded in this deſign, by allowing the treaty to be brought nearly to a concluſion, and then throwing in ſome new difficulty; which he pretended not to have foreſeen, and for the removal of which freſh inſtructions were neceſſary from the Britiſh court.

Neuperg's plot for gaining Breſlaw, Auguſt 1741.

The camp, which had thus aſſumed the air of a congreſs, was moved to the heights of Strehlen, by which poſition it was enabled to draw its proviſions from Breſlaw, and to cover the Lower Sileſia. During two months that the army continued in this poſt, Frederick raiſed recruits and collected horſes; and did both with ſuch ſucceſs, that his troops were rendered as complete as at the commencement of the campaign. Meanwhile Mr. Neuperg, who had formed an impregnable camp in the neighbourhood of Neiſſe, meditated a deſign, which, had it not been ſeaſonably diſcovered, might have changed the fortune of the campaign. In the cheap and remote town of Breſlaw, there were many ſuperannuated females, whoſe relations lived at Vienna, and who, from the bigotry of ſuperſtition, and the acrimony of religious hatred, were continually deviſing means for expelling the heretics from Sileſia. In their conventicles held for that purpoſe, Frederick contrived to introduce a falſe ſiſter, by whoſe vigilance he learned that Neuperg meant to decoy him from Breſlaw, and then return thither by forced marches, and make himſelf maſter of the town.

Antici-pated by Frede-rick, who makes himſelf maſter of that ca-pital, Auguſt 7.

To anticipate this diſaſter, which would have not only ſeparated the Pruſſians from their magazines, but intercepted the communication which, by means of the Oder, they maintained with Brandenburgh, Frederick required the preſence of the magiſtrates of Breſlaw in his camp. Several Pruſſian detachments marched by different routes towards the ſuburbs of that place. Free paſſage was demanded for a regiment, which entered by one gate, while the breaking down of a cart embarraſſed another. The Pruſſians thus made themſelves maſters of the town without committing the ſmalleſt diſorder; and the inhabitants ſwore allegiance to his Majeſty. Mr. Neuperg had advanced as far as Frankenſtein, in order to make the king retire from Breſlaw; but finding his plot anticipated, he endeavoured to ſurpriſe the Pruſſian magazine at Schweidnitz, which deſign likewiſe miſcarried.

The Bri-tiſh mi-niſter ne-gociates with Fre-derick in favour of Maria Thereſa.

The ſucceſs of the Pruſſian arms, and the terror inſpired by the French, who by this time had paſſed the Rhine, humbled the pride of the Auſtrian miniſters; who diſpatched Mr. Robinſon, Britiſh envoy at Vienna, to try the effect of negotiation. In the name of Maria Thereſa, that miniſter offered his Majeſty the town of Limburgh, Spaniſh Gelderland, and two millions of crowns, on condition that he immediately cauſed his troops to evacuate Sileſia, and reſigned for ever his pretenſions to that duchy. Robinſon was an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the queen of Hungary, and negotiated, or rather harangued, in her favour with as much emphaſis and boldneſs as he would have ſpoke in the Houſe of Commons. The king, who ſaw ridiculous characters in their true light, aſſumed the ſame tone, and replied, " That princes devoid of honour bartered their rights for money; that ſuch a propoſal was an inſult to his own feelings; and that even his army would think him unworthy to command them, ſhould his weakneſs diſgracefully reſign what their valour had glorioully acquired. Without the [illegible] of ingratitude, can I abandon the numerous Proteſtants in Sileſia to the bigoted rage of their oppreſſors? Can I cede the inheritance of thoſe rights delivered down from my anceſtors, without ſubjecting my name to the eternal reproach of poſterity? No! I will rather periſh with my whole army in the field of battle.—This, Sir, is the only anſwer that honour allows me to give you."

Frederick amuſes the Dutch and Engliſh.

Having thus diſmiſſed the enthuſiaſt in conſternation at an enthuſiaſm ſtill bolder than his own, Frederick continued ſtudiouſly to flatter lord Hyndford, and to amuſe England and Holland. To theſe maritime powers he communicated the queen of Hungary's propoſal, made by Mr. Robinſon, and excuſed his rejecting it, by ſaying, that he knew too well the importance of the Barrier Treaty to have accepted, inſtead of Limburgh and Spaniſh Gelderland, even Brabant itſelf, had the queen thought proper to make that offer.

Purchaſes the county of Glatz from the elector of Bavaria.

About this time Frederick purchaſed from the elector of Bavaria, to whom he promiſed his vote at the enſuing diet, the mountainous principality of Glatz, for 400,000 crowns. It is worthy of obſervation, that the elector had never enjoyed poſſeſſion of the country which he thus ſold. By the ſame treaty, Bavaria guaranteed Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia, and his Majeſty guaranteed Upper Auſtria, the Tyrol, Briſgau, and Bohemia to the elector.

King of Poland enters into a league with France and Pruſſia; Auguſt 31, 1741.

Meanwhile an important event happened in the north. Sweden having undertaken a war againſt Ruſſia, retarded and rendered doubtful the aſſiſtance which the kings of England and Poland expected from that empire. Diſappointed in his hopes of dividing the Pruſſian dominions with his neighbour, the elector of Hanover, Auguſtus III. adopted a new ſyſtem, and entered into the league for deſtroying the Houſe of Auſtria. In return for his aſſiſtance towards accompliſhing this deſign, he obtained a promiſe of Moravia and Obermannhartſberg, which diſtricts were to be erected into a kingdom. The empreſs queen, alarmed by theſe projects, ſent back her Engliſh negotiator to the Pruſſian camp, carrying with him a map of Sileſia, on which the ceſſion of four principalities had been marked with a ſtroke of ink. He was received coldly, and diſmiſſed contemptuouſly. The enemies of Pruſſia had held themſelves too ſure of the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia, by

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by means of which they expected to compel his Majeſty to crave peace on his knees; but ſuch are the ſports of fortune, that almoſt the reverſe happened.

Frederick rejects Maria Thereſa's overtures.

The French and Bavarian armies began their operations with vigour. Having invaded Upper Auſtria, they proceeded to the neighbourhood of Lintz, the capital; while Frederick, co-operating ſtrenuouſly with his allies, made a bold attempt to intercept Mr. Neuperg from Neiſſe. But this enterpriſe having failed in the execution, his Majeſty advanced to Neudorf, and ſecured his communication with Brieg by occupying the poſts of Loewen and Michelau. The ſucceſs of the allies increaſed the conſternation of the court of Vienna; and Maria Thereſa, by means of lord Hyndford, renewed her negotiations with the king, in ſuch terms as ſhowed that ſhe wiſhed earneſtly to appeaſe the reſentment of one of her enemies. She reſigned the conquered principalities in Sileſia, and offered to cede even the town of Breſlaw, deſiring only to retain that of Neiſſe; and in return for ſuch important ſacrifices, craved that Frederick would aſſiſt her with the whole force of his kingdom, thus greatly enlarged at her expence. Frederick regretted to Lord Hyndford the neceſſity of rejecting theſe offers; becauſe he could not violate a treaty which he had juſt concluded with France and Bavaria.

Ambitious views of Frederick reſpecting the diſtribution of power in Germany, 1741.

The Swedes proved leſs fortunate than the other allies, a detachment of 12,000 men being cut off by the Ruſſians near Willmanſtrand; a ſevere check for a kingdom which had languiſhed in debility ever ſince the ruinous and romantic reign of Charles XII. To compenſate for this diſaſter of her confederates, France purpoſed ſending mareſchal Maillebois with an army which he commanded in Weſtphalia, to invade the electorate of Hanover; a meaſure which was thwarted by Frederick, who perſuaded them to direct their arms againſt the queen of Hungary. His Majeſty, however, did not wiſh that the French ſhould obtain too firm a footing in Germany, nor even that the pre-eminence of Maria Tereſa, in that country, ſhould be reduced to nothing. The advantage which he propoſed to himſelf in undertaking this war was to conquer Sileſia; and his engagements with France and Bavaria were only relative to this object. But theſe powers and their allies had a very different end in view. Having deſtroyed the ſupremacy of Auſtria, they purpoſed to raiſe on its ruins four ſubordinate kingdoms, which might balance each other, while France governed them all as beſt ſuited her intereſt. The plan had been adjuſted, and the diviſion of the provinces already made. Hungary, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were to remain under the juriſdiction of Maria Thereſa; the elector of Bavaria was to obtain Bohemia, Tyrol, and Briſgau; Pruſſia, the Lower Sileſia; and Saxony, Upper Sileſia and Moravia.

Frederick diſcovers the duplicity of the French:

This bold ſyſtem, which might have enabled France to obtain ſuch dominion in Europe, as no nation but the Romans ever enjoyed, was altogether inconſiſtent with the views of his Pruſſian Majeſty, who laboured to exalt the grandeur of his family and his nation, not that of his deceitful allies. By picking up a paper careleſsly dropped by the French envoy Valori, he had diſcovered that France was unwilling to ſee him maſter of Upper Sileſia, or even of the county of Glatz. He had learned the ſecret correſpondence of cardinal de Fleury with the court of Vienna; and he knew that the timid policy of that temporiſing prieſt, whoſe intrigues had deluded many a ſovereign, was ready to depart from a project which ſeemed too vaſt for his age and abilities, and to make peace with Maria Thereſa at the expence of his allies, on condition that ſhe reſigned Luxembourg and part of Brabant to France.

Defeats their ſchemes by entering into treaty with Auſtria.

Theſe diſcoveries directed the conduct of Frederick in the delicate part which he was called to act. The deſign of invading Hanover ſo greatly alarmed the court of London, that George II. who had been diſappointed in his negotiations with Ruſſia and Saxony, determined to employ his beſt endeavours for bringing about a peace. For this purpoſe Lord Hyndford repaired to the Auſtrian camp, and preſſed ſo ſtrongly the neceſſity of yielding a part, in order to preſerve the remainder, that the court of

Vienna,

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Vienna, in addition to its former conceſſions, offered to relinquiſh the town of Neiſſe, together with a part of Upper Sileſia, and to renounce any claim of aſſiſtance from Frederick in the preſent war. To haſten the concluſion of this treaty, his Majeſty paſſed the river Neiſſe at Michelau, encamped next day at Katcher, and ſent a detachment to ſeize Oppeln, where he eſtabliſhed a magazine. Theſe movements obliged Mr. Neuperg to retreat to Opperſdorf. The king turned the enemy's poſts near Friedland, and encamped at Steinau. Soon afterwards, Lord Hyndford arrived to acquaint his Pruſſian Majeſty that the treaty only waited his acceptance, mareſchal Neuperg having orders to evacuate Sileſia, provided the king declared *verbally* that he would not undertake any new enterpriſe againſt the empreſs.

Concluſion of that treaty.

Accompanied only by colonel Goltz, his Majeſty repaired ſecretly to Oberſchnellendorf, where, beſides lord Hyndford, he found mareſchal Neuperg and general Lentulus. Preliminaries were ſoon adjuſted, among perſons ſincerely deſirous of an accommocommodation. It was agreed that, to ſave appearances, Neiſſe ſhould be beſieged; that the Pruſſians ſhould take up their winter quarters, unmoleſted, in Sileſia and Bohemia; and that this *verbal* negociation ſhould be kept a profound ſecret, and the divulging the ſmalleſt article, completely annul the whole. Neiſſe ſurrendered in twelve days; and the Auſtrian garriſon had no ſooner left it, than the Pruſſian engineers began to extend and improve its fortifications, and at length rendered it one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe. The army then diſperſed into winter quarters; and the king having received the homage of his new ſubjects at Breſlaw, returned to Berlin, having employed eleven months in reducing a country which contained a million of induſtrious ſubjects, and yielded a revenue of 3,600,000 crowns. This money was employed in augmenting his army, which ſoon amounted to 106 battalions, and 191 ſquadrons; a great military force, yet neceſſary for ſecuring his important conqueſt.

Frederick receives the ſubmiſſion of his new ſubjects at Breſlaw, October 1741.

Neither

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Succeſſes of the French and their allies in Bohemia, October 1741.

Neither the return of winter nor the ſecret treaty between his Majeſty and the queen of Hungary (which the imprudence of her miniſters was at great pains to divulge) interrupted the operations of the French and their allies. The Bavarians had advanced within two marches of Vienna; and had they aſſaulted that city, a meaſure to which Frederick ſtrongly exhorted their elector, they would have encountered but a feeble reſiſtance, and might have ſpeedily defeated the Auſtrians in the capital of Auſtria itſelf; but the elector abandoned that ſalutary deſign, weakly fearing leſt the Saxons, being left alone in Bohemia, might conquer and retain that kingdom. The French, ſuſpecting that the taking of Vienna might render the Bavarians too haughty and too independent, fomented their mean jealouſy, and exhorted them to return from the eaſt; and in conſequence of their following that advice, this jarring confederacy, while corroded in its heart by hate and envy, diſplayed externally ſtrong marks of concord, and aſſembled its whole force in Bohemia. Tabor and Budweis afforded an eaſy conqueſt.

queſt. A numerous French detachment under Segur covered the Bohemian frontiers. On the 26th of October, the city of Prague was aſſaulted and taken by the united arms of the Bavarians and Saxons; and in the December following, the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into this capital, and was crowned king of Bohemia.

Spain takes part in the war.

The calamities which overwhelmed the Houſe of Auſtria, excited the commiſeration of England, and inflamed the rapacity of Spain. The latter kingdom, governed by its queen, the ambitious princeſs of Parma, diſdained to remain inactive, while rival ſtates gathered laurels and gained territories. The queen of Spain advanced pretenſions to the principality of Parma, as well as to Placentia, which ſhe called her petticoat; and in which diſtricts ſhe wiſhed to eſtabliſh her ſecond ſon Don Philip. By her orders 20,000 Spaniards entered the kingdom of Naples; while Don Philip with another army penetrated through Dauphiny and Savoy in order to invade Lombardy. Thus, what had appeared originally

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originally but a faint ſpark in Sileſia, finally produced a general conflagration in Europe.

The Diet of election.

The ſucceſs of the allies in Bohemia ought to have haſtened the elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne; but the tedious formality of the Diet of election aſſembled at Frankfort ſtill procraſtinated that event. The heavieſt pedants of Germany commented and confounded in verboſe diſputes the clauſes of the Golden Bull, which regulate this auguſt ceremony; attentive only to forms, they totally neglected the ſubſtance; and it was neceſſary for Frederick to interfere, leſt the diſſenſions which prevailed in the confederacy, the jealouſy of the Saxons, the ignorance of the French generals, and the indolence of the Bavarians, might ſpeedily occaſion ſome fatal reverſe of fortune, and prevent the poſſibility of hindering, by the elevation of another family to the Imperial throne, that dignity from becoming hereditary in the renewed Houſe of Auſtria.

The elector of Bavaria choſen emperor, 24th January 1742.

The duke of Lorraine, great duke of Tuſcany, and huſband to Maria Thereſa, preſuming on the verbal ſtipulation between his houſe and the king of Pruſſia, ſolicited his Majeſty's vote in his own favour. To this extraordinary demand, Frederick wrote an anſwer, which he calls obliging, but which he acknowledges to have been couched in language ſo dark and ſo intricate, that it was unintelligible even to its author. His main object was to avail himſelf of the preſent favourable criſis to precipitate the election; for which purpoſe he propoſed fixing a day, beyond which that event could not be delayed. This expedient was approved; the elector of Bavaria was choſen emperor on the 24th of January 1742; and afterwards crowned at Franckfort, under the title of Charles VII.

Maria Thereſa's ſucceſſes in Auſtria and Bohemia;

While Charles thus acquired an empty title, the activity of the Auſtrian generals, Khevenhuller and Neuperg, threatened to diveſt him of his territories. Having paſſed the river Ens at three different fords, Khevenhuller made Mr. de Segur retreat towards the city of that name, and then towards Lintz, where with 15,000 Auſtrians he blocked up an equal number of Frenchmen. Mareſchal Neuperg encamped behind the marſhes of Budweis and Tabor, where Ziſka, the chief of the Huſſites, had long braved all his enemies; and by this poſition, not only reſtrained the incurſions of the Bavarians and Saxons into Auſtria, but prevented mareſchal Broglio, who had ſucceeded Belleiſle, from either relieving Mr. de Segur, or intercepting ſeveral Auſtrian detachments who were ready to pour into Bavaria. This ſituation of affairs, which, if allowed to continue, might render Maria Thereſa more formidable than ever, obliged Frederick to throw off the maſk, for which the indiſcretion of the enemy, in divulging the treaty of Oberſchnellendorf, afforded a juſtifiable reaſon.

which oblige Frederick to throw off the maſk.

Having ſent mareſchal Schwerin to ſeize Olmutz in Moravia, he determined to march into that central province, and to employ in this expedition as few of his own troops as poſſible, and as many of his allies as their ſovereigns could be perſuaded to ſpare him. The Saxons, who guarded the river Saſava, which runs into the Maldau near Prague, were moſt favourably ſituated for joining his Majeſty in Moravia. The combined army might then invade Auſtria, and either oblige Mr. Khevenhuller to raiſe the blockade of Lintz, or force the Imperialiſts in Bohemia to decamp from the neighbourhood of Budweis, which would enable mareſchal Broglio to relieve Mr. de Segur. The principal difficulty in the execution of this plan aroſe from the reluctance of the Saxons to join the Pruſſians. To remove this obſtacle Frederick poſted to Dreſden, hoping to overcome the diſinclination of Auguſtus III. which had been heightened by the intrigues of his miniſter.

Intrigues in the court of Saxony.

The late king of Poland, Auguſtus II. had formed a plan for dividing the dominions of the emperor Charles VI. The court of Vienna having received intimation of this project, ſent prince Lichtenſtein to Dreſden in 1735; who being at variance with count Sulkowſky, the miniſter and favourite of Auguſtus III. aſſured count

Bruhl that if he could procure a copy of the plan of partition, the Imperial court would ſpare no pains to ruin Sulkowſky, and to perſuade Auguſtus to ſubſtitute Bruhl in his ſtead. Bruhl eagerly cloſed with the propoſal, perfidiouſly divulged his maſter's ſecret, and ſoon afterwards obtained his promiſed reward. But the Saxons having declared war againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, Maria Thereſa ſent to Dreſden Mademoiſelle Kling, an old maiden of an intriguing diſpoſition, who had formerly been employed in the education of the queen of Poland. Soon after her arrival, ſhe went to viſit count Bruhl, and drawing him aſide, produced the plan of partition, ſaying, "Do you know this? Promiſe inſtantly to make the Saxons retire from Bohemia, otherwiſe I will diſcover your treachery." Bruhl promiſed—his maſter envied the new honours of the elector of Bavaria; and neither of them was willing to truſt the Saxon troops to an ally, whom, ſix months before, they had undertaken to dethrone.

Frederick negotiates at Dreſ-

Yet the fear of diſobliging his Pruſſian Majeſty, prevailed over all theſe conſiderations,

tions. In a conference with count Bruhl, count Saxe, and Mr. Valori, the French envoy, Frederick diſplayed the map of Moravia, and explained his propoſed plan for relieving Mr. de Segur, and ſaving Bavaria. Auguſtus III. having entered the room, his Majeſty thought it decent to acquaint him with the ſervice in which it was meant that his troops ſhould be employed. Bruhl had already folded up the map—Frederick unfolded it anew, and acting, as he ſays, the part of a ſeller of orvietan, accumulated one argument on another, inſiſting chiefly on this, that Auguſtus could never expect to be maſter of Moravia, unleſs he would take the trouble to conquer that province. The king of Poland anſwered, "Yes," to all his Majeſty's obſervations, but ſeemed rather tired than convinced. Bruhl finally loſt patience, and put an end to the conference by telling his maſter that the opera was ready to begin. The proſpect of conquering ten kingdoms could not have detained Auguſtus a moment longer. He haſtily declared his final reſolution; and the negotiation being thus ſuddenly concluded, as a town is taken by aſſault, Frederick

den the aſſiſtance of the Saxon troops.

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derick invited early next morning to his apartment, Father Guarini, who was at once a favourite, a miniſter, a buffoon, and a confeſſor. His Majeſty perſuaded this prieſt, that he wiſhed to ſucceed with Auguſtus only through his good offices; and the Italian's ſubtlety was the dupe of his vanity. After quitting Frederick, Guarini went immediately to his maſter, and confirmed him in his reſolution of ordering the Saxons to co-operate with the Pruſſians; a meaſure not eaſily brought about, conſidering the oppoſition of count Bruhl, the diſinclination of Auguſtus himſelf, and the averſeneſs of count Saxe, who ſtill dreaming of his loſt duchy of Courland, thought the beſt means of recovering it would be by thwarting the meaſures of Pruſſia.

Frederick invades Moravia, January 1742.

The king haſtened to Prague. Segur ſtill defended Lintz; but count Terring, who covered Bavaria, had been defeated by the Auſtrians at Scardingen. Frederick vainly endeavoured to rouſe the inactivity of marechal Broglio, but concerted meaſures with Mr. Sechelles for ſubſiſting the

Saxons. Sechelles ſaid, "I will attempt impoſſibilities;" a ſentence that ought to be written in letters of gold on the deſk of every commiſſary. Nor did he promiſe this only—he actually performed it. Frederick then viſited his quarters in Bohemia: and from thence proceeded to Olmutz in Moravia, where he had ordered large magazines to be formed; but he ſoon perceived that this operation had not been directed by a Sechelles.

Negotiation with the queen.

During his Majeſty's ſhort ſtay at Olmutz, he was joined by Mr. Fitzner, counſeller of the great duke of Tuſcany, who was intruſted with certain propoſals from the court of Vienna. The king recalled to the remembrance of this agent, the various infractions of the truce of Oberſchnellendorf; and when Fitzner acquainted him with the ſhameful capitulation of Segur at Lintz, employed this as a new argument for perſuading the queen of Hungary to make peace with her enemies, inſinuating that the Engliſh would readily abandon her cauſe for the intereſts of their commerce. Fitzner agreed to maintain a ſecret correſpondence with his Majeſty by means of a certain canon Janini.

His operations in Moravia diſconcerted by the inactivity and treachery of his allies.

The news of the election of an emperor ſeemed to reanimate the languor of the court of Vienna. A powerful army had been raiſed under prince Charles of Lorraine, who haſtened to defend Moravia; and Frederick, who had ſucceeded in his negotiation with Auguſtus, found it impoſſible to derive any benefit from the undiſciplined licence of the Saxons, and the inactivity or treachery of their commanders. Inſtead of the great projects which he meditated, and which uncommon rapidity in the execution could alone render practicable, it was impoſſible to remain in Moravia without taking Brunn. The king of Poland refuſed cannon for the ſiege of that place, under pretence of wanting money, though he had juſt purchaſed a diamond for 400,000 crowns. The French remained in a profound lethargy at Piſeck in Bohemia, commanded by marechal Broglio, who had ſuffered repeated ſtrokes of the palſy. The army of the new emperor had neither ſtrength nor ſpirit to afford any vigorous aſſiſtance. Frederick therefore prepared to retreat from Moravia, leaving only prince Thierri's diviſion in a ſtrong camp near Olmutz, and having previouſly diſmiſſed the ungovernable and perfidious Saxons, at the requeſt of mareſchal Broglio, who craved their aſſiſtance againſt prince Charles in Bohemia, at a time when his Majeſty well knew from intercepted letters that the prince was marching to Moravia.

Invades Bohemia, April 1742.

At departing from that province, Frederick was aſked by Mr. Balow, who attended him as miniſter from the court of Dreſden, "Who is now to crown my maſter?" The king replied, "That crowns were to be obtained only by heavy cannon, the want of which had hindered the taking of Brunn." Determined thenceforth never to command troops who appeared incapable of obedience, he proceeded by Zwittau and Leutomiſchel, to Chrudim in Bohemia. The Saxons, inſtead of joining the French at Piſeck, took up their quarters in the circle of Saatz, on the frontiers of their electorate.

April 17.

The obſtinacy of the court

The arrival of prince Charles in Moravia obliged prince Thierri to retreat towards of Vienna determines him to riſk an engagement.

Sileſia. The burden of the war now reſted entirely on the Pruſſians, which made his majeſty liſten readily to the renewed mediation of lord Hyndford. But the capitulation of Lintz, the evacuation of Moravia, and the defection of the Saxons, had revived the obſtinacy of a court which, following the brute impreſſions of irrational nature, has always behaved (if we believe Frederick) as inſolently in proſperity as abjectly in adverſity. Before treating with the Auſtrians it ſeemed neceſſary to defeat them. Lord Carteret, who had ſucceeded Sir Robert Walpole as miniſter to George II., took Maria Thereſa under his particular protection. He paid her ſubſidies, ſent Engliſh troops to Flanders, and in order to diminiſh the number of her enemies, endeavoured to negotiate a peace with Pruſſia. But for effecting this deſirable event, the king truſted entirely to his army in Bohemia, which, by draughts from Brandenburgh and Sileſia, now amounted to 33,000 men.

Derives little advantage

Mareſchal Broglio meanwhile, ſurrounded by a dozen dukes and peers of France, commanded 10,000 men at Piſeck, and by repeated from his French allies.

repeated repreſentations of his weakneſs, obtained from cardinal Fleury the promiſe of a reinforcement. This however did not arrive in time to anſwer any uſeful purpoſe. The French have often been reproached, and juſtly, as careleſs auxiliaries. Allied with the Auſtrians they had made them loſe Belgrade; and now that they were their enemies, they did them no harm. Their friendſhip had been hoſtility, and their hoſtility proved impotent. By ſuch extraordinary conduct they diſguſted all their allies, and totally ruined the affairs of their Bavarian emperor.

The battle of Czaſlau or Chatuſitz, May 17, 1742.

Their artifices could not deceive Frederick, becauſe he never repoſed in them the ſmalleſt confidence. Having quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Chrudim, in ſuch a diſpoſition that they might eaſily be aſſembled, he patiently waited the arrival of prince Charles of Lorraine, who, fluſhed with his ſucceſs in Moravia, advanced in purſuit of the Pruſſians to Czaſlau in Bohemia. In numbers, the Auſtrians were ſuperior; but their cavalry ſtill perſiſted in the awkward and ineffectual uſe of fire-arms.

The

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The ſuperiority of his majeſty's ſquadrons, the judicious diſpoſition of his battalions, and his ſeizing the deciſive moment to attack the enemy in flank, gained the battle of Czaſlau or Chatuſitz, in which prince Charles loſt 7,000 men. The loſs of the Pruſſians in killed and wounded exceeded 3,000. The action laſted three hours. After their defeat, the Auſtrians retreated three miles, and occupied at Haber a fortified camp among the mountains. The Pruſſians purſued them, and obliged prince Charles to decamp in the night, and take ſhelter in the thick woods near the road to Teutchbrod. The arrangements reſpecting ſubſiſtence prevented the king from penetrating farther into Bohemia; he therefore encamped at Kuttenberg, a poſt of great ſtrength, near to which he had formed magazines.

Belleiſle's projects, and reception in the Pruſſian camp.

Meanwhile mareſchal Broglio, and his coadjutor Belleiſle, who had joined the army after the riſing of the diet at Frankfort, defeated prince Lobkowitz near the defile of Sahe, which obliged that prince to raiſe the ſiege of Frauenberg, and to retreat towards Budweis. The mareſchals had received a reinforcement of 10,000 men; the prince commanded but 7,000. Yet this victory was celebrated with noiſy applauſe at Paris, and employed as a ſubject fitted to revive the drooping hopes of the old cardinal, and to brighten the decayed luſtre of the French arms. Intoxicated with his military ſucceſs, and elated with the thoughts of having given an emperor to Germany, mareſchal Belleiſle repaired to the Pruſſian camp, in order to concert meaſures for rouſing the Saxons from their lethargy. But Frederick had good reaſons for entering into none of his views. He knew the ſecret negotiations of the cardinal with the court of Vienna. Chetardie, the French ambaſſador in Ruſſia, had propoſed to the Empreſs to make peace with Sweden, by indemnifying the latter power at the expence of Pruſſia. Cardinal Tencin had ſaid in the name of the French court to the Pope, That his holineſs needed not be uneaſy at the aggrandiſement of the king of Pruſſia, becauſe France, who had raiſed that heretic, would ſeize a proper opportunity to reduce him to his original meanneſs. Be-

ſides

ſides theſe reaſons for making peace with the queen of Hungary, Frederick had only 150,000 crowns in his treaſury. He therefore diſpatched full powers to count Padewils at Breſlaw, to conclude a peace with lord Hyndford, who had full powers from the court of Vienna. Belleiſle meanwhile had frequent audiences at Kuttenberg, which evaporated in vain compliments and empty panegyrics.

Broglio's vain confidence and defeat.

Frederick, though well acquainted with the duplicity of his allies, was unwilling that they ſhould meet with any diſaſter which might retard the concluſion of peace. From the ſituation of Broglio's army, he perceived that the mareſchal was expoſed to ſome fatal reverſe of fortune. He therefore took the liberty of ſending him his beſt advice, and exhorted him to puſh vigorouſly his advantages againſt prince Lobkowitz, before that prince could be reinforced by prince Charles of Lorraine; at leaſt to victual Frauenberg, which would ſecure to his army a near and ſafe retreat. The mareſchal diſdained the counſels of a young man, and remained totally inactive at

Frauenberg. The Auſtrians arrived, cut off his detachment at Tein, paſſed the Muldau, and pillaged the French baggage. Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected irruption, the mareſchal fled in trepidation to Piſeck, without any other orders than ſaying, "The army muſt march;" he thence retreated to Braunau, from which place he was expelled by 3,000 Croatians, and obliged to ſeek ſhelter under the cannon of Prague.

Peace conclud-ed at Breſlaw between Maria Thereſa and Frederick, June 11, 1742.

This piece of bad news made Frederick diſpatch a courier to haſten the negotiation at Breſlaw. The eloquence of lord Hyndford gained great force from the victory at Czaſlau; and the following preliminaries were ſigned the 11th of June 1742: 1. The queen of Hungary cedes to his Pruſſian majeſty the Upper and Lower Sileſia, together with the principality of Glatz, except the towns of Troppau, Jegerndorff, and the high mountains beyond Oppa. 2. His Pruſſian majeſty promiſes to pay to England the ſum of 1,700,000 crowns, which had been lent the late emperor upon a mortgage of the

Sileſian

Sileſian revenues. The other articles related to the ſuſpenſion of arms, and exchange of priſoners, and the freedom of religion and commerce. Theſe preliminaries were ratified with all convenient ſpeed; and Frederick having evacuated Bohemia, drew one diviſion of his army through Saxony into his hereditary dominions, and ſent another to Sileſia to guard that important conqueſt.

CHAP. II.

Frederick abandons the Emperor. His letter to cardinal Fleury. Belleiſle's retreat. Domeſtic improvements. The academy inſtituted. Negotiations. Secret treaty of Warſa. Treaty of Frankfort. The French ſucceſsful in Flanders. England threatened with invaſion. Prince Charles of Lorraine invades Alſace. Frederick's negotiations with Ruſſia. He traverſes Saxony. Invades Bohemia. Diſtreſs of his army. He retreats to Sileſia. Death of the Emperor. Negotiations for chuſing a ſucceſſor. Campaign of the French in Italy, and in Flanders. Frederick defends Sileſia. Glorious exploit at Jagerndorf. Battle of Hohenfreidberg. Injudicious meaſures of the French. The Great Duke of Tuſcany elected Emperor. Haughtineſs of the Empreſs Queen. The treaty of Hanover. Frederick invades Moravia. Deſolates the Bohemian frontier. The battle of Sohr. The dangerous conſpiracy of the Auſtrians and Saxons. Frederick's ſtratagems. He ſurpriſes the Saxons at Hunnerſdorf. Negotiates with the court of Dreſden.

Dreſden. Battle of Keſſeldorf. Frederick's moderation in proſperity. Peace of Dreſden.

CHAP. II.

Frederick abandons the cauſe of the Emperor, 1742.

THE battle of Molwitz had effected, that of Czaſlau had confirmed, the conqueſt of Sileſia. The poſſeſſion was ſecured (as far as treaties afford ſecurity) by the peace of Breſlaw; and an army of 35,000 Pruſſians quartered in the ceded province, was ready to defend it with an obſtinacy equal to the boldneſs with which it had been acquired. As the main purpoſe of the war was thus happily accompliſhed, Frederick too eaſily abandoned the Emperor to his own weakneſs, the jealouſy of the Saxons, the levity of the French, and the implacable reſentment of the Houſe of Auſtria. The inactivity or perfidy of his majeſty's allies, afforded him a ready excuſe for preferring his own intereſt to the advantage of this jarring confederacy. Count Wartenſleben being ſent to Auguſtus III. with the news of the victory of Czaſlau, that prince appeared ſo totally unacquainted with the motions of his own troops, that he aſked the count, Whether his Saxons had behaved well in the engagement. He

His excuſe.

was told, That they had not been there; and that, long before the battle, they had retired to the circle of Saatz, on the frontiers of their own electorate.

His letter to cardinal Fleury.

The military operations of the French had ill correſponded with the lofty promiſes of their court; yet, from a decent regard to his allies, Frederick thought proper formally to notify the peace of Breſlaw to cardinal Fleury. In a long letter, he recapitulated and diſplayed his uninterrupted exertions in the common cauſe; glanced politely at the errors of the French generals, and urged with great force the plea of neceſſity, which obliged him to abandon projects ſo ſalutary to Europe as thoſe which France entertained. The cardinal anſwered his majeſty in a ſtyle equally polite and equally inſincere, diſſembling his reſentment, and intreating Frederick, as arbiter of Europe, to mediate a general peace, in which the intereſts of the Emperor ſhould not be forgotten.

The French unfortunate in

The peace of Breſlaw had immediately after its ratification been guaranteed by George

Bohemia, 1742.

George II. who wiſhed to obtain the aſſiſtance of Pruſſia in the war which he meditated againſt France. A body of 16,000 Britiſh, and 6,000 Heſſian troops already rendezvouſed in Brabant. An equal number of Heſſians followed the ſtandard of the Emperor, that warlike people being thus cruelly ſacrificed to the mean avarice of their Landgrave, who was likewiſe king of Sweden. The arrival of the Britiſh forces in Brabant prevented not Mr. Maillebois, who commanded a French army on the Rhine, from attempting to relieve his countrymen, who had been defeated in Bohemia, and whom prince Charles of Lorraine purſued from one ill-choſen poſt to another, and finally blocked up in Prague. Their diſtreſs became ſo great, that the ſoldiers lived on horſe-fleſh. Maillebois might have arrived in time to defend Prague, had not the court of Vienna amuſed cardinal Fleury with negotiation, till mareſchal Kevenhuller advanced from Bavaria, and compelled Maillebois to retire to Egra. The French general afterwards joined mareſchal Seckendorf, who commanded the Imperialiſts in Bavaria; he was followed thither by prince

Charles of Lorraine; but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon ſoon obliged the forces on both ſides to go into winter quarters. Belleiſle meanwhile had orders to evacuate Prague. His forces amounted to 16,000 men, chiefly infantry, who were blocked up by an equal number of Auſtrian cavalry, commanded by prince Lobkowitz. On the night of the eighteenth of December, Belleiſle effected his eſcape, gained three marches on the prince, and arrived the tenth day of his retreat, over marſhes and mountains, at Egra; cold and fatigue having reduced his army to 8,000 men; part of which joined Maillebois in Bavaria, and the remainder went to recruit in Alſace.

Belleiſle's retreat from Prague.

The queen of Hungary, after thus recovering Bohemia, was encouraged by the martial ardour of George II. to perſevere from ambition in a war undertaken for defence. That prince, hoping to decide by victories in Germany, the intereſts of his commerce and his colonies endangered by the Houſe of Bourbon, ſet himſelf at the head of his army, and gained the battle of Dettingen. Having paſſed the Rhine at Mentz,

The queen of Hungary's operations invigorated by the powerful aſſiſtance of England, June 16, 1743.

Mentz, he advanced towards Worms, in order to co-operate with prince Charles of Lorraine, who, after driving the enemy from Bavaria, threatened to invade the valuable province from which he derived his title, and to take up his winter quarters in Burgundy and Champaigne. But this bold deſign was reſiſted with equal boldneſs; the French manfully defended their frontiers; prince Charles was obliged to ſtop ſhort in the diſtrict of Briſgow, on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine; and George II. received a reinforcement of 14,000 Dutch troops, which he had purchaſed dearly, only to ſend them with the reſt of his forces into winter quarters in Weſtphalia and Brabant.

Frederick employs the ſhort interval of peace in domeſtic improvements, 1743.

The king of Pruſſia watched with anxiety the operations of the Auſtrians. Prudence taught him to repoſe but little confidence in a reconciled enemy. Should the queen of Hungary obtain a decided preponderance in Germany, Pruſſia muſt not only loſe the conſideration which ſhe had acquired by the conqueſt of Sileſia, but run the riſk of being ſpeedily deprived of that province.

The ſhort interval of peace his majeſty had aſſiduouſly employed in repairing the breaches of the late war, and in improving the internal condition of his dominions. He had formed magazines ſufficient for the ſervice of one campaign; the money in his treaſury was equal to ſupporting a war of two years continuance; and the fortifications in Sileſia had been repaired with great diligence. By digging the canal of Plauen, he had abridged the communication between the Elb and the Oder; the canal of Swine was rendered navigable; the harbour of Stettin had been enlarged; ſilk manufactures had been eſtabliſhed in ſeveral great towns, and the inſect which produces that precious ſubſtance, became a new ſource of wealth to the inhabitants of the country. Amidſt thoſe operations, which enriched and ſtrengthened his kingdom, Frederick neglected not the means by which it might be adorned. The new academy of Berlin was inſtituted. In the Belles-Lettres, to the improvement of which ſo many circumſtances concur, that ſociety long continued weak; but the department of ſcience was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the names of Euler, Pott, Margraff, and Maupertuis.

His dexterous negotiation durring the winter 1744.

Although the iſſue of the campaign 1743 had not correſponded with its ſucceſsful commencement, there was reaſon to believe that the queen of Hungary and her allies expected next year to dethrone the Emperor. His Pruſſian majeſty remonſtrated on this ſubject with George II.; and by threatening to invade Hanover, obtained an ineffectual promiſe from the Engliſh monarch, that he would not undertake any meaſure tending to invalidate the dignity, or curtail the poſſeſſions, of Charles VII. By his emiſſaries, as well as by ſeveral perſonal conferences, Frederick endeavoured to promote a league among the princes of the empire for ſupporting the authority of their chief. This however could not be effected without the diſburſement of ſuch large ſums as his majeſty was neither able nor willing to advance; and the French, on this occaſion, likewiſe preferred views of œconomy to motives of ambition. Frederick plainly perceived that he muſt again enter the liſts with the power of Auſtria; and in order to ſecure his northern frontier, while he carried his arms to the ſouth, ſpared no pains to obtain the friendſhip of Ruſſia and Sweden. By his negotiations in thoſe countries, where his ſchemes however were continually thwarted by the miniſters of London and Vienna, he ſucceeded in his plan of marrying the Grand Duke of Ruſſia to the princeſs of Zerbſt, whoſe father was a mareſchal in the Pruſſian ſervice; and in concluding another marriage between the heir apparent of Sweden and the princeſs Ulrica of Pruſſia. Upon theſe two alliances, he founded the ſecurity of his dominions againſt two powers, whoſe hoſtilities are the more formidable to Pruſſia, becauſe, without the aſſiſtance of a fleet, it is impoſſible for that kingdom effectually to retort their injuries.

Secret treaty of Warſaw for regaining Sileſia, 1744;

Frederick wiſhed earneſtly to bring over the Saxons to his views. But the threats of mademoiſelle Kling ſtill reſounded in the ears of count Bruhl, and that frivolous count ſtill governed the feeble mind of Auguſtus. Seduced by the artifices of his miniſter, Auguſtus concluded a treaty at Warſaw with the courts of London and Vienna, by which he guaranteed to Maria Thereſa the countries which ſhe poſſeſſed at the peace of Utrecht, and which ſhe had loſt by that of Breſlaw. George II., who had guaranteed the latter treaty, carefully concealed from Frederick this new engagement, which could have no other aim than that of depriving him of Sileſia.

Frederick determines to anticipate his enemies, in oppoſition to the advice of his miniſters.

By a ſecret channel, however, the king of Pruſſia obtained immediate intelligence of this dangerous tranſaction, and determined ſeaſonably to anticipate his enemies, while they were ſtill engaged in war againſt the united ſtrength of the Houſe of Bourbon. His miniſters unanimouſly oppoſed this reſolution, alleging that he, whoſe ſituation is advantageous, ought not without the moſt evident neceſſity to change it; and that to avoid the calamities of war, it was imprudent ſpontaneouſly to provoke them. To this argument, Frederick returned a written anſwer, which he concluded by obſerving, That the preſent juncture demanded deciſion and boldneſs; that much might be loſt, and nothing could be gained by delay; and that it was better for the Pruſſians to periſh honourably with arms in their hands, in conſequence of a ſeaſonable and manly reſolution, than to be overwhelmed diſgracefully, when the irreſiſtible ſtrength of their enemies excluded every hope of ſafety.

The treaty of Frankfort, May 27, 1744.

It happened fortunately at this juncture, that the Emperor, who looked on his affairs as almoſt deſperate, ſent count Seckendorf to Berlin to crave the aſſiſtance of Pruſſia. The count aſſured Frederick, that the French wiſhed earneſtly to ſupport his maſter, and had determined to exert themſelves vigorouſly for that purpoſe. Although this propoſal was extremely agreeable to his Pruſſian majeſty, he ſpecified the following conditions as neceſſary to his contracting any new engagement: 1. That his propoſed alliance with Sweden and Ruſſia ſhould previouſly be brought to a concluſion. 2. That while his Swediſh majeſty made a diverſion in Bremen, the French ſhould invade Hanover. 3. That at the ſame time the Pruſſians entered Bohemia, the French ſhould act offenſively on the Rhine. 4. That the kingdom of Bohemia ſhould be diſmembered, and the three circles neareſt Sileſia be annexed to the Pruſſian dominions. This article was added, that in caſe fortune favoured the arms of the allies, all miſunderſtandings might be prevented about the diviſion of their conqueſts; and upon theſe conditions an alliance was concluded at Franckfort between the Emperor and the king of Pruſſia, to which the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Heſſe acceded.

Frederick's dexterous negotiations at the court of France.

To confirm the ſalutary reſolutions of the court of Verſailles, Frederick ſent thither count Rottembourg, who had entered into the Pruſſian ſervice in 1740, and who being related to ſeveral illuſtrious families of France, ſeemed a proper perſon to ſupply the defects of baron Chambrier, who had reſided twenty years as Pruſſian envoy at Paris, but who was far advanced in years, ſcrupulouſly circumſpect, little connected with people of high rank, and inexperienced in tranſacting matters of great moment. Chambrier, however, was not recalled, the phlegm of the baron ſeeming neceſſary to moderate the fire of the count. By means of the duke of Richelieu, of cardinal Tencin, and above all of the king's miſtreſs madame de Chateauroux, Rottembourg prevailed on Louis XV. to admit the articles which Frederick had propoſed to Seckendorf, and to engage, that one French army ſhould enter Weſtphalia, while another moved from Alſace, and endeavoured to drive the Auſtrians from Bavaria.

Succeſs of the French arms in Flanders and Italy 1744.

The zeal of the ducheſs of Chateauroux exceeded Frederick's moſt ſanguine hopes. Moved by her ſolicitations, Louis tore himſelf from the idleneſs of his amuſements, and conducted an army into Flanders, where he beſieged and took Menin and Ypres. The prince of Conti had already paſſed Tenaro, to invade the territories of the king of Sardinia, who had joined the Auſtrian alliance. Having taken Nice and Villa Franca, Conti traverſed the mountains to Montalbon, broke through the barriers of Savoy, took Dauphin by aſſault, penetrated into Piedmont, and laid ſiege to Coni. His Sardinian majeſty attempted

tempted in vain to interrupt his operations; but the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, an inundation which deſolated the adjacent country, and the conſequent want of proviſions, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and to return into Savoy. In the Mediterranean, the fleets of France and Spain had fought a drawn battle againſt the Engliſh admiral Mathews; and in order to remove the Britiſh troops from Flanders, count Saxe had conducted 10,000 men to Dunkirk, together with the young pretender prince Edward, with a declared intention to invade England. To oppoſe this alarming meaſure, a body of 12,000 Engliſh and Dutch troops were withdrawn from the continent; the Dutch armed their merchantmen to protect the Britiſh coaſt; and George II. required from the king of Pruſſia a body of auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty of Breſlaw. To this demand Frederick replied, "That in caſe Great Britain ſhould be attacked, he would defend that kingdom in perſon with 30,000 men." George thought that number too great, and deſiſted from his pretenſions. The failure of the expedition was aſcribed to contrary winds, the vulgar excuſe

England threatened with invaſion, 1744.

cuſe of ſailors; but the French admiral, Roquefeuille, certainly dreaded to croſs the channel in ſight of an Engliſh fleet.

Prince Charles of Lorraine invades Alſace, 1744.

The terror produced in England by the rumour of this invaſion facilitated the ſucceſs of Lewis XV. in Flanders; a country which, as it abounds in fortified places, has been the ordinary ſcene of French triumphs, the troops of that nation excelling far more in beſieging towns, than in deciding the fortune of campaigns. But the conqueſts of Lewis in Flanders were compenſated and ſurpaſſed by the acquiſitions of the enemy in another quarter. Upon the death of mareſchal Khevenhuller, which drew ſincere tears from Maria Thereſa, the Auſtrian army, which had wintered in Briſgow and Bavaria, was commanded nominally indeed by prince Charles of Lorrain, but in effect conducted by mareſchal Traun, an enterpriſing and ſkilful general. Having aſſembled his troops at Heilbrun, Traun advanced to Philipſbourgh, obtained the command of the Rhine from Schreck to Mentz, paſſed that river, took Haguenau and Savern, and laid the rich province of Alſace under

June.

heavy contributions. The mareſchal Coigni, who commanded the French army on that frontier, and Seckendorf, who reinforced him with the feeble remains of the Imperialiſts, ſhewed themſelves as inferior in ſkill to mareſchal Traun, as their armies were inferior in ſtrength to the Auſtrians.

July.

Unſeaſonable malady of Lewis XV.

Lewis XV. determined in perſon to conduct 40,000 men, the flower of his army in Flanders, to the defence of Alſace; and in order to encourage that monarch to repel the enemy, to haraſs them as they repaſſed the Rhine, and to purſue them back into Bavaria, Frederick ſent mareſchal Schmittau to the French camp, promiſing that by the middle of Auguſt he would invade Bohemia with 100,000 men. Unfortunately for the glory of the French arms, Lewis was moſt unſeaſonably arreſted by a malady at Metz; and the duke of Harcourt and the mareſchal Noailles, who then commanded in his ſtead, ſhewed not more ſkill or activity in diſturbing the retreat of the Auſtrians, than Coigni and Seckendorf had done in oppoſing their invaſion. While theſe generals amuſed themſelves with uſeleſs formalities and inglorious ſieges, the prince of Lorraine repaſſed the Rhine in the night at Beinheim, and deſtroyed his bridges before day-break; and then continuing his march undiſturbed through Swabia and the Palatinate, entered peaceably into Bohemia.

Imprudent meaſures of the French.

Schmittau, the Pruſſian miniſter, lamenting the ill-concerted meaſures of the French, had been employed all this while in addreſſing memoirs to the king, ſoliciting the miniſters, and remonſtrating with the mareſchals. The only aſſiſtance that he could obtain, was a reinforcement of ſome German troops, to co-operate with Seckendorf in Bavaria. The opportunity of deſtroying the Auſtrian army was for ever loſt. The French forces, which were to invade Weſtphalia, did not make their appearance; and notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of the Pruſſian envoy, Lewis XV. no ſooner recovered from his illneſs, than inſtead of purſuing prince Charles, he ſat down before Freyburgh, in the diſtrict of Briſgaw, with 70,000 men, and ended an inactive

Auguſt.

November 1744.

inactive campaign by this inglorious conqueſt.

The Pruſſian negotiations at St. Peterſburgh oppoſed by Beſtuchew, 1744.

The invaſion of Alſace made Frederick apprehenſive leſt France ſhould conclude haſtily a peace with Auſtria, and leave him at the mercy of the queen of Hungary. He prepared therefore for taking the field, although the previous arrangements which he had judged neceſſary, and particularly his negotiation with Ruſſia, ſtill remained incomplete. The ſkill and dexterity of Mr. Mardefeld, the Pruſſian envoy at St. Peterſburgh, had been oppoſed by the intrigues of the chancellor Beſtuchew, a man hoſtile to France through caprice, attached to England from avarice, deſtitute of real talents for buſineſs, but proud through ignorance, and ſo falſe by nature that he betrayed even thoſe by whom he had been corrupted. Having perſuaded the empreſs to undertake a journey to Moſcow, that ſhe might be crowned in that ancient capital, he next prevailed on her to make a pilgrimage to Kiowie, in honour of ſome obſcure ſaint in the obſcure calendar of Muſcovy.

His character.

covy. The abſence of the ſovereign from the court was a ſeaſon of triumph for the miniſter. The guineas of England prevailed, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, over the crowns of Pruſſia. But in executing moſt political projects it is neceſſary to be contented with an approximation to complete ſucceſs; and although the alliance with Ruſſia was not ſo ſolid as Frederick wiſhed to render it, he hoped that his vigorous exertions in the field would decide the iſſue of the war, before the voluptuous indolence of Elizabeth could be engaged to thwart his operations with any degree of energy.

Frederick traverſes Saxony, Auguſt 1744;

The Emperor had already written to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, craving a free paſſage for the Pruſſian auxiliaries, who intended to enter Bohemia. Auguſtus was then at Warſaw; his miniſters remonſtrated, intreated, and wiſhed to gain time; but the Pruſſians were already in their territory. This invaſion was ſtigmatiſed with every epithet of reproach, although its principal aim was to ſave Germany from the inſult of ſeeing the degradation of its emperor. The Saxons murmured, Auguſtus raged, George II. ſtormed, Maria Thereſa trembled, and Frederick purſued undiſturbed his march to Pirna. Under the maſk of pride, the miniſters of Auguſtus endeavoured to conceal their terror; and while they tamely granted every important demand, they refuſed trifles with obſtinacy. They furniſhed proviſions, ſupplied boats for croſſing the Elbe, allowed a fleet of victuallers to ſail through the middle of Dreſden, but they doubled the garriſon of that city, and barricaded its gates. Their hoſtile intentions were viſible; and a body of 17,000 men, commanded by the old prince of Anhalt, was left on the weſtern frontier to overawe their electorate. Frederick advanced towards Prague, coaſting the left of the Elbe; another column under prince Leopold of Anhalt traverſed Luſatia; mareſchal Schwerin at the head of the third column iſſued from the gorges of Sileſia. The whole army had aſſembled before Prague the 2d of September; the trenches were opened on the 10th, and on the 16th that capital ſurrendered.

invades Bohemia and takes Prague, September 1744.

After

The ſolicitations of his allies betray him into a falſe plan of military operations.

After this brilliant commencement of the campaign, the Pruſſians might have marched eaſtward, and diſlodged Mr. Bathiani, who had conducted 12,000 men from Bavaria, and formed a great magazine at Pilſen for the uſe of the Auſtrian army under prince Charles of Lorraine, which advanced towards the weſtern frontiers of Bohemia. Having made themſelves maſters of that magazine they might then have proceeded to Com and Fort, and occupied the defiles which open Bohemia on the ſide of the Palatinate, and through which alone prince Charles's army could penetrate into the former country. The king preferred this plan, which would have enabled him to defend Prague, and the territory which his army already occupied; but his allies, the Emperor, the French king, and particularly the mareſchal Belleiſle, inſiſted that the army ought to move ſouthwards, and take poſſeſſion of Tabor and Budweis, in order to eſtabliſh a communication with Bavaria, and alarm Maria Thereſa for the ſafety of Auſtria itſelf. Overcome by the ſolicitations of his confederates, and leſt he ſhould ſeem to have no other purpoſe in view than merely to conquer the three circles of Bohemia, which had been promiſed him in the treaties of Frankfort, he undertook this unfortunate expedition, leaving in Prague only ſix battalions, which ſufficed not to guard the one-half of its circumference.

Deſcription of that part of Bohemia in which the Pruſſians were to act.

Towards the ſouth of Prague, and on the right of the Muldau, the country is wild and mountainous; even the vallies are ill cultivated and thinly peopled. When you have advanced eleven German miles inclining to the eaſt, you diſcover the city of Tabor ſituate on a rock, and built in the fifteenth century by Ziſka, that famous Huſſite, who defended, but at the ſame time plundered, his country. Beyond Tabor, the ſmall river Luſchnitze frets over craggy rocks, covered with thick woods, through which you continue your journey for three German miles, and then perceive the fortified city of Budweis two miles before you, in the middle of a fertile plain, watered by the Muldau. At a ſmall diſtance from Budweis, but on the left of the river, the lofty caſtle of Frauenberg ſpreads its towering battlements, which the French defended ſix months againſt the arms of the Auſtrians. Such was the country in which the Pruſſians were to act.

Their firſt ſucceſs and ſubſequent diſaſters.

Having marched from Prague the ſeventeenth of September, they arrived the twenty-ſixth, at Tabor. That place which was reckoned impregnable in the ſixteenth century, as well as Budweis and Frauenberg were taken. But the army had ſcarcely performed two marches, when Mr. Bathiani ſent a large body of Croatians and huſſars, who having occupied Beraun and Kanigſaal, intercepted the communication of the Pruſſians with Prague, and infeſted all the avenues by which they could receive proviſions from the adjacent country. This hardſhip was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the draught horſes and oxen, belonging to the army, had been ſo ill managed, that one-half of them had periſhed on the march. Nor was this all; the nobles and clergy of Bohemia were implacably hoſtile to the Pruſſian hereticks; and the common people in that kingdom, conſiſting chiefly of *ſerfs*, were implicitly ſubmiſſive to the commands of their ſuperiors. At the approach of the enemy, theſe wretched peaſants deſtroyed or hid their proviſions and forage, deſolated their villages, and diſperſed into the neighbouring foreſts. The Pruſſians found only deſerts before them; and none of the Bohemians, whom they ſeized, could be tempted by money to give them the ſmalleſt intelligence, or to depart in other reſpects from the revered orders of their maſters.

They retreat northwards to Beneſchau, October, 1744.

This diſtreſſing ſituation was aggravated by the incurſions of 10,000 huſſars, who had advanced from Hungary, and who haraſſed or reſtrained the movements of the Pruſſian detachments towards the ſouth, in a country perpetually varied, or rather deformed, by marſhes, rocks, foreſts, and defiles. The army had continued for a month buried in a deſert, and totally deſtitute of intelligence from any part of Europe. Prince Henry, the king's brother, was ſick at Tabor; prince Leopold and mareſchal Schwerin carried their differences ſo high, that his Majeſty could hardly prevent them from proving ruinous to the public cauſe;

the Pruſſians were afflicted by diſeaſes, and diſtreſſed for want of bread; and prince Charles of Lorraine having encamped on the banks of the Walawa, within two miles of Piſec, had been joined by the Saxons, whoſe hoſtility Frederick had foreſeen, but had reſtrained himſelf, through a falſe delicacy, from uſing the proper means to prevent it, while he was maſter of their country. It became neceſſary to retreat towards the impregnable poſt of Beneſchau, which, if occupied by prince Charles, might have rendered the ſituation of the Pruſſians deſperate. Mareſchal Schwerin at the head of 15,000 men ſeized this poſt, and the magazines which had been already formed in its neighbourhood. On the fourteenth of October, he was joined by the king, who had left 300 of the ſick at Tabor, with a garriſon of 3000 men. That place, as well as Budweis and Frauenberg, ſurrendered to the enemy.

The judicious plan of mareſchal Traun.

The deſign of prince Charles of Lorraine, or rather of the old mareſchal Traun, was to reduce his Pruſſian majeſty to the alternative of abandoning either Bohemia or

Sileſia. If the king remained in the circle of Kaurzim and the neighbourhood of Prague, the enemy might intercept his communication with Sileſia; and if he retired eaſtward to Pardubits, in the circle of Chrudim, Prague and Bohemia muſt be for ever loſt. To this judicious plan, the mareſchal added the wiſe precaution of chuſing impregnable camps, which defended him againſt the hunger and deſpair of the Pruſſians; who, from want of proviſions, and from diſeaſes (ſcarcely 100 men in each regiment being fit for ſervice), were obliged to paſs the Elbe at Kolin, the ninth of November. Prince Charles followed them; and through the negligence of the patrols, prepared a bridge on the Elbe at Solnitz, in the night of the eighteenth. At five o'clock next morning, the Pruſſians were alarmed by the report of cannon, and a briſk diſcharge of muſketry. The king ſent parties on all ſides to diſcover the ſcene of this unexpected engagement, but received not any ſatisfaction till mid-day, when an officer of huſſars brought intelligence that the Auſtrian army had indeed paſſed the Elbe, but that their paſſage had been

A ſingle Pruſſian battalion diſputes the paſſage of the Elbe with the Auſtrian army.

been diſputed five hours by a ſingle battalion. This battalion, the only one near to Solnitz, was commanded by Mr. Wedel, who, notwithſtanding the fire of fifty pieces of cannon, thrice repelled the Auſtrian grenadiers; and after his meſſengers ſent to crave aſſiſtance had been intercepted by the enemy, retired in good order through the foreſt of Wiſchenjowitz to rejoin the army. In this memorable exploit, which procured him the name of Leonidas, Wedel loſt two officers and 100 men. The prince of Lorraine, aſtoniſhed that a ſingle battalion ſhould interrupt the operations of a great army, ſaid to the generals who accompanied him, The queen would be fortunate indeed were ſhe ſerved by ſuch heroes.

Frederick retreats to Silefia, December 1744.

In this critical emergency the king aſſembled a council of war to deliberate whether the army ſhould return to Prague, in order to keep poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bohemia, or evacuate that capital, as well as all their other poſts, in order to retire to Sileſia. Prince Leopold eſpouſed the former reſolution, which was the moſt ſplendid; the king preferred the latter, which was the moſt ſolid. Countries are to be gained by armies; but by continuing in Bohemia, the army muſt have been ruined before the return of ſpring, whereas by marching into Sileſia it found all thoſe refreſhments of which it ſtood in need. The other generals preferred the opinion of the king; who, having ſent his confidential aid-de-camp, Mr. Balow, to communicate his deſign to his ſcattered poſts and detachments, began his retreat the twentieth of November; and in the ſpace of about three weeks his various columns reached the frontiers of Sileſia. The prince of Lorraine purſued the Pruſſians only to Nachod; he thence marched ſouthward to Moravia, while the Saxons returned weſtward to the circles of Bunzlau and Leutmeritz. Thus ended a very laborious campaign, the commencement of which had promiſed a far happier iſſue. The mighty army that was to conquer Bohemia and invade Auſtria, experienced the fate of the invincible armada with which Philip II. of Spain thereatened to overwhelm England.

Having

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Having diſtributed his troops in the ſtrong holds of Sileſia, Frederick returned to Berlin, in order to provide reſources for the enſuing campaign, and to reſume his negotiations with foreign powers, which he meant to proſecute more ſeriouſly, ſhould the events of the war render that meaſure expedient. General Lehwald and the old prince of Anhalt repelled vigorouſly the Auſtrian and Hungarian troops, who availing themſelves of what they called the terror of the Pruſſians, infeſted Upper Sileſia and the county of Glatz. But ſuch exploits, however honourable to thoſe by whom they were performed, ill compenſated the unhappy revolution which had transferred to Sileſia, a war undertaken for the defence of Alſace; and an event altogether unexpected tended ſtill farther to diſconcert the projects of Frederick, and to give a new impreſſion to the politics of Europe. This was the death of the Emperor Charles VII. at Munich, the twentieth of January 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Death of the Emperor, January 20th, 1745.

February 1745.

The

Difficulty of finding a perſon to ſucceed him.

The Grand Duke of Tuſcany, huſband to Maria Thereſa, immediately declared himſelf a candidate for the Imperial throne. His pretenſions were ſupported by the intrigues of the clergy, the money of England, and the armies of the queen of Hungary; and the powers moſt adverſe to his cauſe could not eaſily name a rival qualified to oppoſe him. The Elector Palatine was too feeble; the ſon of the late Emperor was too young; Auguſtus elector of Saxony was already king of Poland, a ſtation held incompatible with the Imperial dignity; and Frederick himſelf was too much an object of jealouſy and envy to the electoral college, and beſides was totally deſtitute of that kind of ambition, which is gratified by the loftineſs of empty titles. The court of Verſailles, though deſirous of accommodating its differences with the queen of Hungary, determined to oppoſe the pretenſions of her huſband; and by the influence of mareſchal Saxe, ſet up Auguſtus III. as his competitor, hoping that, notwithſtanding the informality of this choice, it would tend to diſunite the rivals, and enable the Houſe of Bourbon to obtain a more advantageous peace from the Houſe of Auſtria. The principal difficulty attending this project ſeemed to be the unwillingneſs of the king of Pruſſia to contribute to the elevation of an implacable adverſary.

France propoſes the king of Poland,

Before the commencement of the war, his Pruſſian majeſty, though well acquainted with the hoſtile intentions of Auguſtus, had permitted ſix Saxon regiments to traverſe his dominions in their road from Poland to Luſatia. He had offered the king of Poland, to take care of his intereſts, and to marry his daughter the princeſs Marianne to the ſon of the Emperor. Regardleſs of theſe marks of friendſhip, Auguſtus uſed his utmoſt influence to engage the republic of Poland to join the Auſtrian confederacy; and perſuaded the Staroſt Wilezewſky to declare in full Diet, that the Pruſſian miniſter had bribed him with the ſum of 5000 ducats. The Staroſt was convicted of a lie, and the Diet of Grodno rejected the treaty with Auſtria. Poland at that time ſwarmed with malecontents, who made a propoſal to the king of Pruſſia of forming

Frederick's implacable enemy.

a con-

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a confederacy againſt Auguſtus. Frederick, who was extremely averſe to kindling the flames of diſcord, exhorted and perſuaded theſe haughty Palatines, not to diſturb the peace of their country. He even offered to Auguſtus himſelf, who wiſhed at that time to return to Saxony, every imaginable ſecurity for his ſafe paſſage through Sileſia. Auguſtus impolitely rejected this offer; undertook a tedious journey through Moravia; traverſed Bohemia; and had no ſooner reached Dreſden, than he entered into a ſecret treaty with the Houſe of Auſtria, for dividing that very province into which Frederick had ſo hoſpitably invited him. On ſuch terms were the kings of Pruſſia and of Poland, when France propoſed to the former a treaty for raiſing the latter to the Imperial throne.

Frederick conſents to the elevation of that prince, February 1745;

Had Frederick liſtened only to his reſentment, he muſt have ſpurned this diſgraceful overture. But, ſound policy required that he ſhould not omit any opportunity of ſowing diſſenſion between two courts, which had leagued againſt him. The Imperial crown, and that of Poland, could not be worn by the ſame head; before Auguſtus could be qualified for accepting the one, it was neceſſary that he ſhould diveſt himſelf of the other; a meaſure which his Pruſſian majeſty well knew to be inconſiſtent with the fundamental laws of the Poliſh conſtitution. Without heſitation therefore, he conſented to the chimerical project of France, a condeſcenſion which the chevalier Court aſcribed entirely to the aſcendancy which the councils of his maſter Lewis XV. had over the deliberations of Pruſſia.

and prepares for the enſuing campaign.

Frederick derived little advantage from this act of complaiſance. He perceived that the exertions of the French would be confined chiefly to Flanders, the main object of their ambition, and the principal ſcene of their triumphs. Auguſtus preferred the principalities of Glogau and Sagan, with which Auſtria tempted him, to an unequal competition for precarious honours. For the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign, Pruſſia muſt depend on her own efforts alone. The ſum of 6,000,000 of crowns was drawn from the treaſury. The cavalry was remounted,

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remounted, the regiments of infantry were rendered complete, great magazines were formed in Sileſia, and every preparation was made for repairing in 1745 the loſſes which had been ſuſtained the preceding year in Bohemia.

The young elector of Bavaria concludes a treaty with Auſtria, April 15, 1745.

Frederick left Berlin the fifteenth of March; and learned on his road to Sileſia that the young elector of Bavaria had concluded at Fueſſen his ſeparate peace with the queen of Hungary. That unfortunate prince, the ſon of an unfortunate father, had been betrayed by his general Seckendorf, who immediately after the demiſe of the late emperor had laid down the command, and left the Bavarians ſo much weakened by diſperſion, that they fell a prey to an enemy greatly inferior in number. Their French allies, commanded by Mr. Segur, were totally defeated at Pfaffenhofen. The young elector experiencing the unhappy fate of his father and grandfather, was driven from Munich his capital, and obliged to ſeek protection in Augſburgh.

The cauſe of that meaſure.

Amidſt theſe multiplied calamities, Seckendorf appeared at his clouded court, not to diſpel the gloom, not like a hero who finds reſources in his genius, when the vile populace deſpair, but as an inſidious and corrupt partizan of the Houſe of Auſtria, employed to ſeduce a young prince deſtitute of experience, and overwhelmed by misfortunes. It was ſaid, that Seckendorf received the ſum of 300,000 florins from Maria Thereſa; but more probably this ſum was only promiſed him. He produced forged letters in order to miſrepreſent the deſigns of the king of Pruſſia, whoſe friendly ſervices the late emperor had with his laſt breath exhorted his ſon never to forget. Theſe words, which ſtill reſounded in the ears of the young prince, made his hand tremble and heſitate, while he ſigned the treaty of Fueſſen, by which he diſclaimed all gratitude to that monarch, deſiſted from his pretenſions to any part of the inheritance of Charles VI. and promiſed his vote at the diet of election for the grand duke of Tuſcany. In return for this favour the court of Vienna engaged to reinſtate him in his electorate, to exempt that country from farther contributions,

April 22, 1745.

Injuſtice of the court of Vienna.

tributions, and to allow his auxiliaries to return unmoleſted to their reſpective homes. But, in contempt of theſe articles, the Heſſians were immediately diſarmed, and carried priſoners into Hungary; and the contributions raiſed in Bavaria were, under the name of arrears, continued and aggravated. Thus ended the unfortunate league of Frankfort. The emperor dies, his ſon engages to promote the ſucceſs of his father's rival, the grand duke is declared emperor, and the treaty of Warſaw unites the half of Europe againſt the king of Pruſſia. But that prince had already prepared for making a vigorous defence, and the enſuing ſummer was irrevocably to decide his doom.

The French campaign in Italy, 1745;

The campaign opened in Italy and in Flanders, in both which countries the Houſe of Bourbon triumphed over its enemies. Mr. Gages, who commanded the Spaniards and Neapolitans, defeated ſucceſſively prince Lobkowitz, count Shulenbourg, and prince Lichtenſtein. At the end of the campaign, the Spaniards were maſters of almoſt all Lombardy, except Turin, Mantua, and ſome other fortified places, which they blocked up, and which they ought to have taken in order to ſecure their winter quarters. The citadels of Milan and Alexandria were indiſpenſably requiſite for this purpoſe; but the victors, intoxicated by ſucceſs, repoſed on their laurels, and having exerted themſelves vigorouſly and ſkilfully during a long career, unſeaſonably loſt breath, when they were ready to touch the goal.

In Flanders, 1745.

In Flanders, Lewis XV. had ſet himſelf at the head of an army of 80,000 men, which was in effect commanded by mareſchal Saxe. The duke of Cumberland and mareſchal Kænigſeck could oppoſe the enemy with only 50,000 men, the Pretender's invaſion of Scotland having obliged George II. to withdraw part of his troops from Flanders. The French inveſted Tournay, and their deciſive victory near the village of Fontenoy gave them not only the beſieged city, but Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde. The campaign cloſed with the ſurrender of Neuport, Dendermonde, Oſtend, and Aeth; having greatly extended the Mar. 11

frontiers of France in a country where ſhe has always been moſt ambitious of conqueſts.

Frederick takes the field to defend Sileſia, May 1745.

The French and Spaniards had begun their operations above a month before the Pruſſians and Auſtrians took the field in Sileſia. Towards the end of April, the prince of Lorraine, who was no longer aſſiſted by the counſels of mareſchal Traun, already hovered on the frontiers of that country. The Hungarians and Huſſars had commenced their incurſions into Upper Sileſia, in order to amuſe the Pruſſians on that ſide, while the ſituation of their magazines ſufficiently indicated that the great army meant to penetrate into the lower province by the gorges of Landſhut. If the Pruſſians divided their forces, in order to oppoſe the enemy in both diſtricts, they muſt render their army too weak to contend with that of prince Charles; and if they aſſembled their whole ſtrength into one body, they muſt at length be reduced by the enemy's light troops to great ſtraits for proviſions. Frederick endeavoured to avoid this hard alternative, by keeping his army in force, and by bringing the enemy to an engagement as quickly as poſſible. For attaining theſe purpoſes, he recalled his detachments, and abandoned Upper Sileſia to the ravages of the Hungarians. The greater part of his forces had already aſſembled at Frankenſtein; and the 22d of May the Margrave Charles, at the head of 12,000 men, marched from the neighbourhood of Jagerndorf to join the camp. The Auſtrians, who foreſaw the retreat of this prince, occupied the heights upon his road, with three batteries of cannon, which greatly haraſſed the Pruſſians on their march.

Glorious action at Jagerndorf, May 22, 1745.

Without regarding this inconvenience, the Margrave continued to advance; and at the opening of the mountains, two regiments of Pruſſian cavalry attacked and defeated Ogilvy's Huſſars, then poured on the regiment of Eſterhazy, and repelled it with great ſlaughter; and charging for the third time, routed Gotha's dragoons, and put many of the fugitives to the ſword. The *irregulars* in the Auſtrian army, which amounted to 20,000 men, beholding the unexpected deſtruction of the regular troops, fled howling to the woods. The Margrave, and general Schwerin, who had commanded the horſe, were received in the camp of Frankenſtein with honours reſembling a Roman triumph; the glorious action of Jagerndorf being the firſt important occaſion on which the Pruſſian cavalry had ſignaliſed the ſuperiority of their manœuvres and diſcipline, by which, from the moſt inanimate and moſt uſeleſs troops in Europe, Frederick gradually rendered them the moſt enterpriſing and moſt uſeful.

Frederick's artifices for bringing the enemy to a deciſive engagement, May 1745;

Having now aſſembled his forces, the main object of the king was to allure the enemy to an engagement. With this view he employed a man of Schœnberg, who ſerved as a ſpy to both parties. Frederick paid him a large ſum; and in return required as the greateſt ſervice in his power, that he would give him intelligence of the prince of Lorraine's motions, that the Pruſſians might ſeaſonably retire to Breſlaw. The better to deceive this dealer in deceit, the roads to Breſlaw were repaired; and the traitor, who obſerved this circumſtance, haſtened to the Auſtrians to be paid for his diſcovery.

In

In order to approach the enemy, the king moved from Franckenſtein, and occupied the ground between Striegau and Schweidnitz. The prince of Lorraine had already advanced to Hohenhennerſdorf, from which he might deſcend by different routes into the plain of Schweidnitz. Frederick examined the ground, and employed three days in preparing the roads leading towards the mountains, that there might not be any obſtacle in the way to hinder him from attacking prince Charles as ſoon as he removed from his faſtneſſes.

which are ſucceſsful.

On the 2d of June, the Auſtrian and Saxon generals held a council of war on the mountain of Hohenfriedberg, which commanded the whole plain, but from which they could ſee only a ſmall portion of the Pruſſian troops, who had been carefully concealed in deep ravines, or behind the heights of Nonnenbuſh. This circumſtance confirmed the ſecurity of the enemy, who, flattering themſelves with the hope of ravaging Sileſia with impunity, had concerted the operations by which they were to make themſelves maſters of the principal towns in that dutchy; but Frederick, at the head of 70,000 men, had determined to diſpute every inch of ground with the moſt obſtinate firmneſs. Every day he viſited his poſts in perſon; and, on the 3d of June, was the firſt to diſcover a cloud of duſt, which roſe from the mountains, and deſcended in a waving line from Kauder to Ronſtock. Soon afterwards, the enemy appeared marching in eight great columns, their right flanked by the river Striegau; and the Saxons, who formed the left, extending to Pilgrimſhain. Frederick commanded his van-guard to paſs the Striegau, and occupy a rock near the town of that name, and which, from a quarry that it contains, is called mount Topaze. The 4th of June, at two o'clock in the morning, the king aſſembled his principal officers, and ſettled the plan of the engagement, which was fought that day with a degree of ſkill and valour equal to the patience and dexterity with which it had been brought on.

Battle of Hohenfriedberg.

The Saxons were the firſt in the field, and, as they expected not to meet with any oppoſition, June 4, 1745;

oppoſition, were ſurpriſed and totally defeated, before the Auſtrians had formed in the plain between the river Striegau and the woods of Ronſtock. Having diſperſed the enemy in front of his right wing, Frederick wheeled to the left, and attacked the Auſtrians in flank; which movement, combined with the irreſiſtible impreſſion of his cavalry, decided the engagement. The Saxons fled to Seyfferſdorf, the Auſtrians to Kauder, Nadaſti's huſſars covering their retreat. They loſt 4000 men in the battle; in which, or in the retreat, the Pruſſians took 7000 priſoners, beſides 200 officers, and four generals. On the ſide of the victors, the loſs hardly amounted to 1800 men.

its conſequences.

This action, though ſhort in itſelf, had been prepared by long and arduous exertions; and next day the king could detach only the diviſions commanded by Meſſrs. Winterfeld and Moulin in purſuit of the enemy. They approached prince Charles near Landſhut, defeated Nadaſti who covered his retreat, and purſued both to the frontiers of Bohemia. The Saxons having

openly

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openly invaded Sileſia, Frederick diſmiſſed their reſident from Breſlaw, and recalled his envoy from the court of Dreſden; declaring that it was impoſſible any longer to keep meaſures with a people who ſeized every opportunity to diſtreſs him.

The Sileſian peaſants aſk permiſſion to maſſacre the Roman catholics.

After repoſing one day, the army followed Winterfeld's detachment to Landſhut. Upon his arrival there, the king was ſurrounded by a crowd of 2000 peaſants, craving permiſſion to maſſacre the Roman catholics, that, by this ſignal act of vengeance, they might retaliate at once, the many cruel perſecutions which they had endured from the unrelenting bigotry of the Houſe of Auſtria. Inſtead of granting this barbarous demand, Frederick exerted himſelf to prove its atrocity, and to ſhew its flagrant oppoſition to the cleareſt precepts of the Chriſtian religion. The peaſants liſtened with edification to the arguments of the royal preacher, and retired to their reſpective homes, aſhamed of the groſs impiety of their petition.

Frederick's anſwer to their atrocious requeſt.

In

Frederick's judicious plan artfully concealed from the enemy.

In the battle of Hohenfriedberg, the enemy had been defeated, but not deſtroyed. Since the departure of the Margrave Charles from Upper Sileſia, the Hungarians had ſurpriſed the fortreſs of Coſel, and begun to extend their incurſions to the neighbourhood of Breſlaw and Schweidnitz. Frederick therefore determined not to remove far from that province, on which his army depended for ſubſiſtence. Having driven prince Charles to Kænigſgraetz, and detached Mr. Naſſau with 12,000 men, to recover Coſel, it remained for the Pruſſians to deſolate the frontiers of Bohemia, which would hinder the enemy from taking up their winter quarters in diſtricts conveniently ſituate for invading Sileſia. But this cautious plan of defenſive war was carefully concealed from prince Charles, who being kept in continual alarm for four weeks, ſolicited, and at length obtained, a conſiderable reinforcement.

Imprudent operations of the French, 1745;

In the operations which depended on himſelf, Frederick had not only reſiſted, but defeated the ambitious deſigns of the Houſe of Auſtria; but notwithſtanding his moſt preſſing inſtances, his French allies had been ſhamefully inactive and completely unſucceſsful. Mr. Segur had joined an army commanded by the prince of Conti on the Rhine, which was intended to advance towards Frankfort, and oppoſe the election of the grand duke of Tuſcany. This army, which occaſioned ſuch terror at Vienna, that Maria Thereſa had determined to violate the golden bull by aſſembling the diet of election at Erfort, was moſt injudiciouſly weakened by a draught of 15,000 men to carry on ſieges in Flanders. Mareſchal Traun on the other hand, who commanded the troops of the empire, was moſt ſeaſonably reinforced. The grand duke appeared himſelf in the army. Traun detached general Bœrenklau, who defeated ſome free companies of the enemy near Oppenheim. The prince of Conti took the alarm, and paſſed the Rhine at Germerſheim, encamping afterwards at Worms, and then at Mauterſtadt, where he was allowed to remain.

In conſequence of which the grand

The operations of this campaign, which reflects but little honour on the French arms, were totally inconſiſtent with the repeated and written promiſes of Lewis XV. and the prince of Conti, who had declared, that without riſking a great battle, Maria Thereſa ſhould never ſeat her huſband on the Imperial throne. Yet this event took place, and that battle was never fought. The French army having diſappeared, the king of Pruſſia and the elector Palatine remonſtrated and proteſted in vain againſt the injuſtice of ſuſtaining the vote of Bohemia, in expreſs contradiction to the reſolves of the former Diet; againſt the groſs and manifeſt venality of the electoral college; and againſt the military violence which had driven from Frankfort the ambaſſador of the elector Palatine, whoſe ſecretary had been ſeized by the Auſtrians at the gates of that city. From one act of irregularity, the Diet proceeded to another, and finally elected, on the 13th of September, the Great Duke as Emperor, under the title of Francis I.

duke of Tuſcany is choſen Emperor, September 13, 1745.

Maria Thereſa, who had come to Frankfort to enjoy the triumph of her huſband and her own, did not bear her good fortune with the moderation becoming ſo great a queen.

Haughtineſs of the Empreſs Queen, and her reſolution to cruſh Frederick.

queen. In her tranſactions with the princes of the empire, ſhe affected to treat them as ſubjects; her behaviour to prince Charles of Heſſe was ſomething worſe than impolite; in ſpeaking of the king of Pruſſia, ſhe ſaid that his talents were diſgraced by inconſtancy and injuſtice; and publicly declared, that ſhe would rather part with her petticoat than relinquiſh her deſign of recovering Sileſia. His Pruſſian majeſty, who had been diſguſted with the feeble conduct of the court of France, had availed himſelf of the concern of George II. for the intereſts of his electorate, to negotiate a treaty with that prince at Hanover, on the baſis of the peace of Breſlaw. By his ſecret emiſſaries, he had thrown out ſome propoſals of accommodation to the *Empreſs* Queen at Frankfort. But intoxicated with the loftineſs of her new title, that princeſs diſdained to treat on equal terms with one whom ſhe wiſhed to repreſent as a rebel; and who, ſhe well knew, would exert himſelf to the utmoſt to defeat that plan of deſpotiſm which, ſince the reign of Ferdinand I. the Houſe of Auſtria have attempted to eſtabliſh in Germany; a plan which, could it be carried

His treaty at Hanover with George II. Auguſt 1745.

carried into execution, would reduce many flouriſhing and warlike ſtates into languid and deſpicable provinces of one overgrown monarchy, that muſt either be oppreſſed by its own unwieldineſs, or become dangerous to all its neighbours.

He lays Moravia under contribution, September 1745.

To the pride and obſtinacy of the Empreſs Queen, Frederick oppoſed his uſual activity and perſeverance. General Naſſau regained Coſel; drove the enemy from Lower Sileſia; advanced with his little army to Troppau; and laid ſeveral circles of Moravia under contribution. The great Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies remained meanwhile in Bohemia, reſpectively encamped at Clum and Kænigſgraetz, and in ſight of each other. Prince Charles was now aſſiſted by the duke d'Arenberg and prince Lobkowitz; a conſiderable reinforcement had arrived from the army on the Rhine; and Maria Thereſa had commanded theſe princes to act offenſively, hoping that the ſame good fortune, which had crowned her huſband, would cover her troops with laurels. Having foraged the country around Clum, the Pruſſians, on the 18th

and deſolates the frontiers of Bohemia.

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18th September, paſſed the Elbe, and encamped at Kowalkowitz, from which place a detachment was ſent to cover Brandenburgh, and defend the banks of the Oder, againſt a body of 6000 Uhlans raiſed by the king of Poland. On that day, the Auſtrians celebrated the election of their Emperor with a fire of rejoicing; the name of the Imperial army was grateful to their ears; two days were ſpent in jollity and drinking, which rendered their camp a ſcene of riot. This was the critical moment, in which the Pruſſians might have attacked them with advantage; but Frederick adhering ſtedfaſtly to the plan of campaign which he had laid down, moved his camp to Staudentz, and foraged the Bohemian frontier from Trautenau to Braunau, in order to form a barrier of ſterility before Sileſia, which might ſecure that country from moleſtation during winter.

The Auſtrian partiſans oppoſed with equal ſkill by the Pruſſians.

From the inequalities of the ground, which perpetually ſinks into dales, or ſwells into mountains, the foraging parties encountered ſuch difficulties, that it was impoſſible to procure a bottle of hay without riſking a combat. In this war of detachments, the partiſans Trenck and Franquini were oppoſed with equal activity and boldneſs by the Pruſſians Du Moulin and Mœllendorf. As the Auſtrians enjoyed the favour of the country, they ſoon learned that the king's troops were chiefly ſupplied with bread from the magazine of Trautenau. Upon this intelligence, they ſet fire to that wretched town, which was reduced to a heap of ruins. The Pruſſians however had uſed the precaution of concealing their corn under ground; ſo that the only conſequence of this inhuman action was, that the Empreſs Queen loſt a town in her kingdom of Bohemia.

The Auſtrians burn Trautenau.

These petty exploits ſerved as a prelude to the great enterpriſe, which, in obedience to the orders of their court, the Auſtrian generals had long meditated. They rightly conjectured that the Pruſſians meant to quit Bohemia; and in order to obſerve their motions more nearly, prince Charles encamped at Kenigſaal, which was within a march of the Pruſſians at Staudentz. To oppoſe the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy's light

Frederick obliged to make great detachments from his army, light troops, which haraſſed the Pruſſians on all ſides, Frederick had been obliged to make many detachments from his army. Mr. Naſſau was in Upper Sileſia; Mr. Polentz in the new March of Brandenburgh; Mr. Du Moulin at Schatzlar; and Mr. De Lehwald at Trautenau. The king's army was thus reduced to 18,000 men, a number too inconſiderable completely to defend their camp, which on the right was commanded by a hill, guarded only by ſome troops of huſſars. Prince Charles's army exceeded 40,000 men; from which he was continually ſending parties of four or five hundred horſe, which hovered around the Pruſſian camp. As the whole face of the country was roughened by mountains, interſected by narrow defiles, and covered with woods belonging to the immenſe foreſt of Sylva, Frederick durſt not ſend parties of diſcovery above half a mile beyond his camp.

which is ſurpriſed, September 29, 1745.

On the 29th of September, general Katzler, who had advanced to examine the roads from Arnau and Kenigſaal, found himſelf unexpectedly between two columns of Auſtrians, who endeavoured to conceal from him their numbers, by penetrating deeply into the woods. The next day, the king had determined to march at ten o'clock in the forenoon, in order to return to Sileſia; and at four in the morning was concerting with his generals the order of their intended march, when an officer rode up to acquaint him, that on the right of the camp there had been diſcovered a long line of cavalry, which, from the extended cloud of duſt, was ſuſpected to be the whole Auſtrian army. Soon afterwards, other officers arrived, and informed his Majeſty that the enemy had already begun to form.

Frederick's prudent boldneſs.

Frederick, having ordered his troops to ſeize their arms, rode to his grand guard, that, after examining the enemy's poſition, he might determine with the more certainty by what manœuvres it would be moſt prudent to oppoſe this unexpected attack. The Pruſſians could retreat only by the roads leading to Trautenau, which were ſo embarraſſed and ſo intricate, that the enemy having already formed in order of battle, it ſeemed more prudent to riſk an engagement with far ſuperior

The battle of Sohr, near Trautenau, September 29, 1745.

perior numbers, than to attempt a dangerous retreat, which muſt have ſoon degenerated into an ignominious flight. By wheeling a quarter circle to the right, Frederick made front to the Auſtrians, a movement executed with great preciſion, notwithſtanding the fire of twenty-eight pieces of cannon, and grenades innumerable which were thrown among the cavalry. Before the Pruſſian left could entirely leave the camp, the right was expoſed half an hour to the Auſtrian artillery. The Pruſſian infantry, however, remained firm; and Frederick ordered general Buddenbrock, who commanded his horſe, to attack the hoſtile cavalry, which were arranged in three lines, and awkwardly armed with carabines. Beſides this diſadvantage, their ground had been injudiciouſly choſen, wanting depth, and having in rear a dangerous ravine. The Pruſſians charged them vigorouſly, and with ſuch ſuperiority of action and effect, that Mr. Goltz, with only twelve Pruſſian, defeated fifty Auſtrian, ſquadrons. The ſucceſs of the cavalry encouraged the Pruſſian infantry to attack repeatedly, and at length to diſmount, the enemy's batteries; which ſucceſs enabled them to take the Auſtrians in flank, and decide the victory. The ſurface of the ground being a perpetual variation of hill and dale, occaſioned many partial renewals of the combat. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick advanced to gain an eminence where the reſiſtance had been firmer than elſewhere, and which, ſtrange to tell! was defended by his brother prince Lewis. The Pruſſians at length prevailed; and the retreat of the enemy now degenerated on all ſides into a ſhameful flight. The king ſtopped the purſuit at the village of Sohr, from which the battle takes its name. That village is contiguous to the foreſt of Sylva, the vicinity of which rendered it improper to follow the enemy farther, leſt, by raſhly attempting too much, the victory might have been reduced to nothing. During the engagement, in which the Imperialiſts muſt have loſt a great many men, ſince even the victors acknowledged the loſs of 1000, the Auſtrian huſſars plundered the Pruſſian camp. The king, as well as many of his officers, loſt their baggage. His Majeſty's ſecretaries were alſo taken priſoners. Mr. De Lehwald, who had heard at Trautenau the

Two brothers, princes of Brunſwick, fighting on oppoſite ſides.

the noiſe of cannon, advanced ſeaſonably to diſpel that cloud of pillagers, and to put an end to the inhuman brutality with which the licentious and cruel Hungarians treated the women and the ſick. Such atrocious barbarities ought to cover with eternal infamy thoſe who commit, and thoſe who tolerate, them. It muſt be acknowledged that the Pruſſian ſoldiers are diſtinguiſhed more eminently by their humanity, than even by their bravery itſelf; and have on many occaſions diſcovered ſuch an elevation of mind and generoſity of character, as could not have been expected from men of inferior condition.

The Pruſſians cantoned in Sileſia, October 1745.

Having remained five days on the field of battle at Sohr, and completely foraged the country in the neighbourhood of Trautenau, the army decamped on the 16th October, and returned into Sileſia by the way of Schatzlar. The troops were placed in quarters of cantonment in the fertile and flouriſhing country between Schweidnitz and Ronſtock; and the king returned to Berlin, in order to reanimate the negotiations for peace, which had begun to languiſh, and to provide reſources for continuing the war, ſhould his enemies drive him to that hard neceſſity.

Frederick returns to Berlin, and celebrates his victories, November 8th, 1745.

The treaty concluded with George II. at Hanover, was ſo far from producing any beneficial effects, that, by alienating the court of France from the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia, it had enabled the Auſtrians to employ their whole ſtrength againſt that prince. The diſturbances in his domeſtic government had greatly diminiſhed the influence of George over the reſolutions of the court of Vienna; and the rebellion in Scotland, which had been intended as a diverſion in favour of the French arms in Flanders, operated not leſs powerfully in favour of the Empreſs Queen, who, diſdaining the remonſtrances of her ancient confederate, now embarraſſed at home, prepared to carry on the war againſt Pruſſia with more vigour than ever. But the ſucceſs of the Auſtrian generals had not correſponded with the ſanguine hopes of their queen; and Frederick ſuſpended in the churches of Berlin the numerous trophies of the victories of Friedberg and Sohr, which ſeemed ſufficiently deciſive to bend

the

the obſtinacy of Maria Thereſa, and to humble the pride of Auguſtus.

The dangerous conſpiracy of the Auſtrians and Saxons, November 1745;

But on the day allotted for that ceremony, he was informed of a deſign ſtill more dangerous than any that he could have conceived the wickedneſs or boldneſs of his enemies capable of forming. Since the marriage of the heir of the Swediſh throne with the princeſs Ulrica of Pruſſia, the Swedes rather leaned to the intereſt of Frederick; and Meſſrs. Rudenſchild and Wolfenſtirna, reſpectively miniſters of Sweden at the courts of Berlin and Dreſden, were perſonally attached to that prince. Wolfenſtirna, in his viſits at the houſe of count Bruhl, diſcovered, through the indiſcretion of that ambitious and reſentful miniſter, who was highly offended at ſome expreſſions in the Pruſſian memorials, that the Auſtrians and Saxons, inſtead of going into winter quarters, had determined to unite their forces, and march ſtraight to Berlin. Wolfenſtirna communicated this deſign to Rudenſchild, who gave intimation of it to the king of Pruſſia. His majeſty's information added, that the plan had been formed by

its object.

Bruhl at Dreſden, corrected by Bartenſtein at Vienna, and tranſmitted by Mr. Saul, Bruhl's confidential agent, to the Empreſs Queen at Frankfort. Truſting to the effect of this bold meaſure for cruſhing his Pruſſian majeſty, the courts of Dreſden and Vienna had diſdained the pacific overtures of George II. not doubting that the Empreſs Queen would ſoon recover Sileſia, and the king of Poland make himſelf maſter of Magdebourgh, Halberſtadt, and Hall, together with their ſurrounding diſtricts. Soon after, Frederick was informed that the Auſtrian general Grune had advanced with 7000 men to Gera in order to join the Saxons at Leipſic; and that magazines had been formed in Luſatia for the ſervice of Prince Charles's army, which was ſoon expected in that province.

Frederick cauſes an army to aſſemble at Hall.

In this dangerous emergency, Frederick conſulted with the experience of the old prince of Anhalt, and with the diſcernment of count Podewils, his Majeſty's ſecretary for foreign affairs; but the Prince, from the ſuſpicion and obſtinacy natural to old age, and the Count, from timidity and avarice, becauſe he had lent his money in Saxony, were both of them extremely unwilling to credit the information which his Majeſty had received. The former, however, was commanded immediately to aſſemble an army at Hall; and the latter, to draw the diſpatches for foreign courts, containing an account of the plan formed by his Majeſty's enemies, and of his reſolution to anticipate their hoſtilities.

Takes the command in Sileſia, November 14, 1745.

The letters from Saxony and Sileſia added new circumſtances of terror to the alarming intelligence which his Majeſty had already received. There was reaſon to apprehend leſt Grune's detachment, amounting to 7000 men, ſhould march ſtraight to Berlin. To oppoſe this invaſion, Frederick determined to leave in that capital general Haake with 5000 men, a garriſon inſufficient to defend a city two German miles in circumference, and which was therefore ordered to ſally forth and attack the Auſtrians, before they approached the walls. At the ſame time, precautions were taken for tranſporting, in caſe of neceſſity, the royal family, the ſupreme councils,

cils, and public archives, to a ſafe aſylum at Stettin. The king likewiſe wrote a pathetic letter to his ally, Lewis XV. craving ſpeedy and effectual aid; and on the 14th of November, departed from Berlin to command his army in Sileſia, affecting gaiety of countenance with deep anxiety at heart, leaving his ſubjects in conſternation, his enemies fluſhed with hope, and all Europe attentive to the iſſue of a campaign, commenced at a ſeaſon when armies uſually retire into winter quarters.

His ſtratagems.

Having arrived the 15th at Lignitz, Frederick learned that 6000 Saxons had already entered Luſatia, and that the Auſtrians prepared to follow them. General Hohenems had likewiſe received orders from the court of Vienna to invade Lower Sileſia. The Pruſſian army amounted to 30,000 men, chiefly veterans, accuſtomed to victory, and who, being now refreſhed by a repoſe of four weeks, were ready to undertake the moſt hazardous enterpriſes. His Majeſty's deſign was to allow the enemy to paſs his quarters on the Sileſian frontier, and then to attack them by ſurpriſe, to

haraſs

haraſs their rear, intercept their convoys, and either to compel them to a diſadvantageous engagement, or to force them to a diſgraceful retreat into Bohemia. For executing this plan, he employed ſimilar ſtratagems with thoſe which he had contrived before the battle of Hohenfriedberg. Affecting ſcrupulouſly to reſpect the Saxon territory, he ſeemed only ſolicitous to anticipate prince Charles at Croſſen, in order to guard the banks of the Oder, and to defend Brandenburgh. As if he had intended to purſue that northern route, the roads were prepared and magazines were formed; the banks of the three rivers on the weſtern frontiers of Sileſia, the Neiſſe, the Queiſſe and the Bober, were carefully guarded; all paſſengers were allowed to enter into that province, but none were allowed to return into Luſatia; by which means the Pruſſians procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and completely concealed their own.

ſucceſſful.

Prince Charles, meanwhile, paſſed the Neiſſe, and advanced in cantonments, extending from Gærlitz to Lauban, imagining that the Pruſſians ſtill remained in their winter quarters, and that he had nothing before him but a detachment of 3000 men, who had been ſent to obſerve his motions.

Surpriſes the Saxons at Hennerſdorf, 23d November 1745.

But Frederick had already advanced to Naumburg; and having croſſed a marſh which the enemy judged impracticable, ſurpriſed a diviſion of the Saxons at Hennerſdorf, the thick fog which prevailed that day entirely concealing his approach. Having encamped at that place, he exhorted his troops to endure cheerfully the fatigues of a few days, that they might repel the enemy without riſking a battle. The one half of the army was unprovided with tents; many regiments had breeches only of linen; yet all of them expreſſed the greateſt readineſs to ſubmit to every hard duty that neceſſity impoſed.

Marches in queſt of the enemy, 24th November 1745.

In order to profit of this diſpoſition in his own men, and of the terror excited in the enemy by the loſs of their quarters at Hennerſdorf, Frederick marched next day in queſt of prince Charles. The fog grew ſo thick, that it became neceſſary to advance with much caution. Having proceeded to Leopoldſhain, the king learned from his ſcouts, that the Auſtrians retired on all ſides, and that the roads were covered with their overturned waggons and forſaken baggage. Next day the Pruſſians took Gærlitz, the capital of Luſatia, and advanced on the 27th to Oſtritz, and thence to Zittau on the Bohemian frontiers, where Mr. Winterfeld attacked prince Charles's rear guard, and made 350 priſoners. The whole expedition laſted but five days. The Auſtrians abandoned their magazines, forſook their baggage, and returned into Bohemia, weakened by the loſs of 5000 men. Frederick returned to Gærlitz, and refreſhed his troops in the fertile diſtrict between the Neiſſe and the Sprey, detaching Mr. Winterfeld with only five battalions and as many ſquadrons to Sileſia; in order to haraſs general Hohenems in flank, while Mr. Naſſau attacked him in front. Their combined endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs. In the ſpace of twenty-four hours, Sileſia was recovered from the invaders; and Hohenems, who ſurpaſſed prince Charles in the promptitude of his retreat, was equally unfortunate in the loſs of his magazines and his baggage.

who retreat into Bohemia with the loſs of 5000 men, November 1745.

During

Prince of Anhalt's expedition in Saxony, November 1745.

During theſe operations in Luſatia, Frederick had not received any intelligence of the ſucceſs of the prince of Anhalt, who had aſſembled his army on the banks of the Saale between Hall and Merſeburgh, in Saxony. To co-operate with that weſtern army, and to alarm Dreſden itſelf, Mr. Lehwald was detached with 10 battalions and 20 ſquadrons to Bautzen, and the banks of the Elbe. The Saxons ſpread a report that Grune had paſſed that river at Turgau and proceeded to Berlin; but it was ſoon diſcovered that the flight of prince Charles had deterred Grune from that bold meaſure; that the prince of Anhalt had got poſſeſſion of Leipſic; and that the Saxons had been collected under count Rutowſky in order to defend their capital. Upon this intelligence, Frederick immediately wrote the prince of Anhalt to haſten forward to Meiſſen, where Lehwald's detachment would be in readineſs to join him; and during a receſs from the fatigues of war, which was neceſſary for the refreſhment of his troops, endeavoured to renew his negotiation for peace with the king of Poland, by means of Mr. Villiers, Engliſh envoy at Dreſden.

Frederick's negotiation with the court of Dreſden.

Amidſt the dangers which threatened Pruſſia before the king's departure from Berlin, the Ruſſian miniſter had declared to him in the name of the Empreſs, That ſhould his Majeſty invade Saxony, Ruſſia muſt ſend a contingent of troops to defend that electorate. Frederick replied, that he wiſhed to live on good terms with all his neighbours, but ſhould any of them meditate deſigns dangerous to his kingdom, the threats of no power in Europe would hinder him from defending his ſubjects. The hoſtile declaration of Ruſſia occaſioned little uneaſineſs at that time to his Majeſty, becauſe the Empreſs could not act againſt him in leſs than ſix months; an interval more than ſufficient for conquering the electorate of Saxony, had he ever ſeriouſly entertained any ſuch deſign; but as time advanced, the intentions of that great northern power could not fail to create uneaſineſs, and to Frederick the moment of victory ſeemed the moſt proper juncture for eſtabliſhing a moderate and ſolid peace; eſpecially ſince his cauſe had been ſo completely abandoned by the French king, that Maria Thereſa was at liberty to withdraw her army from the Rhine, which muſt have given her an alarming ſuperiority of numbers in Upper Germany. He therefore wrote to Mr. Villiers, that he was ready to accommodate his differences with the king of Poland, on the ſame conditions which that prince could have expected before the important ſucceſſes of the Pruſſian arms; that he wiſhed not to extort any new conceſſion from any of his enemies; and that the treaty of Hanover ſhould be conſidered as the baſis of an equitable and permanent peace, by which the memory of paſt injuries might be for ever obliterated, and the belligerent powers reinſtated in the dominions which they reſpectively enjoyed before the commencement of the war.

Unſeaſonable haughtineſs and ambition of that court.

Villiers haſtened to the court of Auguſtus III. with the eagerneſs of a man who comes to tell good news. The king received him coldly, and anſwered him peeviſhly, That he would conſider what meaſures he ought to embrace in the preſent juncture. But count Bruhl, implacable in his hatred to the king of Pruſſia, explained himſelf more clearly to the Engliſh miniſter. Prince Charles had already paſſed the Elbe at Leutmeritz, and was marching towards Saxony: this army, if joined to that of Rutowſky and the forces commanded by count Grune, would outnumber the Pruſſians, who amounted to 80,000 men. Bruhl hoped to bring about this junction; and by obtaining a deciſive victory, to accompliſh his favourite deſign of dividing the Pruſſian dominions between his maſter and the Empreſs Queen. Elated with this great project, he diſplayed oſtentatiouſly the vaſt reſources of Saxony, talked with much confidence of the aſſiſtance promiſed by Ruſſia, and concluded by ſaying, that, from reſpect to the king of Great Britain, he would deliver to Mr. Villiers a memorial, containing the conditions on which alone the king of Poland would accept peace. Next day that prince left his capital, and removed to Prague; his two eldeſt ſons retired to Nurnberg. After the departure of the court, a Saxon counſellor conſigned to Villiers the promiſed memorial, demanding that the Pruſſians ſhould immediately evacuate Saxony, reſtore the contributions which they had exacted, and indemnify the king of Poland for the expence occaſioned by their invaſion and retreat.' Villiers ſent this writing to Frederick, aſſuring him of the friendſhip of George II. and adding, that he by no means warranted the declaration of the court of Dreſden.

Frederick determines to riſk a general engagement, December 9, 1745.

Combining theſe circumſtances, Frederick plainly perceived that he could not negotiate ſucceſsfully without arms in his hands. He therefore moved his quarters to Bautzen, while Mr. Lehwald advanced to Kænigſbruck, within a German mile of Meiſſen; but that town, being on the left ſide of the Elbe, could not be taken without the co-operation of the prince of Anhalt, whoſe great age and extreme caution occaſioned a very dangerous delay in his march eaſtward, ſince it allowed the enemy a precious interval, of which they might have profited, for deſtroying the bridge over the Elbe at Meiſſen, a meaſure that would have effectually prevented the junction of the Pruſſian forces; but this bridge had coſt

CHAP. II.

coſt 150,000 crowns; and neither Bruhl nor his chief counſellor Henecke, who had been raiſed from the condition of a footman to the rank of a miniſter of ſtate, were capable of comprehending, that the fate of a kingdom may depend on the demolition of a bridge.

Movements of both armies.

The prince of Anhalt took poſſeſſion of Meiſſen the 12th December, and was joined next day by general Lehwald. The prince of Lorraine's army arrived the 13th in the neighbourhood of Dreſden; and the Saxons, under count Rutowſky, were encamped at Keſſelſdorf, on the left of the Elbe, and at an equal diſtance between Dreſden and Meiſſen. At the ſame time the two Pruſſian armies put themſelves in motion, the prince of Anhalt with a view to approach the enemy, and the king to occupy with fourteen battalions the important poſt at Meiſſen which the prince had juſt left, and to canton the reſt of his troops along the right of the Elbe; by which means he was in a ſituation both to co-operate with the prince of Anhalt, and to oppoſe the Auſtrians, ſhould they paſs the bridge at Dreſden.

Renewal of the negotiation.

During theſe military movements, the negotiation for peace had been entirely interrupted; the king of Poland refuſing to allow his unprovoked invaſion of Sileſia to counterbalance the leſs deſtructive and more juſtifiable invaſion of Saxony, and threatening to avenge the diſorders committed in his electorate, by the devaſtation of Brandenburgh. But upon his arrival at Meiſſen, Frederick received a letter from Mr. Villiers, acquainting him that the melancholy condition of Auguſtus's affairs had finally determined him to liſten to terms of accommodation; and that the Empreſs Queen was willing to be included in the ſame treaty, provided ſome articles in the convention of Hanover were adjuſted to her ſatisfaction.

The battle of Keſſelſdorf, December 15, 1745.

The king had ſcarcely read that letter, when a meſſenger came to tell him, that towards Dreſden the whole atmoſphere ſeemed on fire. His Majeſty immediately ſuſpected that the prince of Anhalt had engaged the enemy. Having commanded his men to ſeize their arms, he mounted his horſe, and rode with an hundred huſſars towards the ſcene of action. Parties of diſcovery were ſent on all ſides; a report ſpread, that the Auſtrians and Saxons had been defeated; which appeared extremely probable, becauſe no Pruſſian fugitive was found ſtraggling on the road. Satisfied with this probability, the king returned to Meiſſen, where an officer of the prince of Anhalt's army arrived in the evening to tell him that the enemy had been defeated with the loſs of 3000 killed, and 6500 taken priſoners. The prince of Anhalt had attacked their left flank, which was but feebly ſupported; the Saxons had injudiciouſly quitted the village of Keſſelſdorf, which hindered their own cannon from firing; their infantry had been ignorantly poſted, not on the front of the hill of Benerick, but rather in the back ground; and attempted not to reſiſt the Pruſſians, till the latter, having overcome the diſadvantage of the ground, were encouraged by this firſt ſucceſs to perform the eaſier taſk, which yet remained, of defeating the enemy.

Irreſolute and inconſiſtent meaſures of the Saxons.

Count Rutouſky and the Saxons fled in ſcattered diſorder to Dreſden, and thence to Zeſt, on the frontiers of Bohemia. The ſcarcity of forage obliged them to ſend their cavalry into that kingdom. The prince of Lorraine vainly oppoſed theſe diſgraceful meaſures, which left the Pruſſians abſolute maſters of Saxony. Frederick having advanced on the 16th to Wilſdruf, was attended next day by the prince of Anhalt, who ſhowed him the field of battle, the obſtacles which his troops had ſurmounted, and the vaſt number of priſoners; all which objects leſs ſurpriſed his Majeſty than to ſee the whole country covered with the inhabitants of Dreſden, who came forth to meet the Pruſſians. In 1744, when his army marched peaceably through the electorate, the gates of Dreſden were ſhut, the garriſon was augmented, batteries were raiſed on all ſides, and no Pruſſian was allowed to enter that capital. But in 1745, when Saxony was invaded by an army of 80,000 men, Dreſden was left open; the younger ſons of Auguſtus, the miniſters, and the ſupreme councils, all voluntarily ſubmitted to the diſcretion of the enemy; although they had but four German miles to travel in order to reach Bohemia. With an inconſiſtency ſtill more unaccountable, a body of 6000 militia, which might have ſerved to recruit the Saxon army, was thrown into a city which there was not any intention to defend.

Frederick enters Dreſden, December 18, 1745.

On the 18th, the king having occupied the ſuburbs, ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; the latter replied, that Dreſden was not a town of war; and inſtead of a capitulation, the miniſters ſent a memorial. Frederick entered the city, diſarmed the militia, and diſtributed them among his troops, who were commanded to avoid giving the ſmalleſt offence to the innocent citizens. He took priſoners 415 officers, and 1500 men, who had eſcaped from the battle of Keſſelſdorf; but viſited the ſons of Auguſtus, and endeavoured to ſoften their misfortunes by the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of regard; even the garriſon of the caſtle was ſubjected to their command.

Notwithſtanding the moderate behaviour of his Majeſty, the moſt injurious reports were ſpread reſpecting his intentions in taking poſſeſſion of the Saxon capital. It was ſaid that the prince of Anhalt, whoſe ſtern and unfeeling character in ſome meaſure juſtified the reproach, had aſked permiſſion for his troops to plunder Dreſden; and that the king, to animate their exertions in the battle, had granted that atrocious requeſt. But ſuch an abſurd calumny could be believed only by the moſt childiſh credulity. The prince of Anhalt would never have dared to make this barbarous propoſal to the king; he would never have ventured to offer the plunder of Dreſden to officers inſpired with honour, and ſoldiers inured to diſcipline.

Abſurd calumny refuted.

To comply with eſtabliſhed cuſtom, Frederick allowed the *Te Deum* to be ſung in the churches, and the Opera of Arminius, the decorations of which were at hand, to be performed in the theatre. Even this frivolous amuſement had been employed by count Bruhl as an engine of policy. The

Frederick's moderation in proſperity.

Clemency of Titus had been repreſented, when Sulkouſky was diſgraced for pretended crimes, in order to make room for his ſupplanter. Arminius had been acted during the late war, in alluſion to the aſſiſtance which Auguſtus III. afforded the Empreſs Queen againſt the French and Pruſſians. The flattering accents of Italian poetry, enriched by the harmony of muſic, perſuaded Auguſtus that he was the model of princes, and the delight of humanity. On the preſent occaſion, two verſes were omitted,

> "Sulle ruine altrui alzar non penſi il ſoglio
> Colui chi al ſol orgoglio riduce ogni virtu;"

not indeed as applicable to Auguſtus, but as exactly deſcriptive of Frederick, who, "animated by glory only, diſdained to trample on a fallen adverſary." Driven from his capital, and deprived of his revenues, the king of Poland was offered peace on ſuch terms as he could ſcarcely have expected before his diſaſters. Count Harrach, who arrived from Vienna as plenipotentiary for the Empreſs Queen, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at

Peace of Dreſden, December 25, 1745.

at Frederick's moderation in proſperity, and thanked his Majeſty for the readineſs with which he conſented to an accommodation. The treaty was ſigned the 25th December 1745. On the part of Auſtria, it was a ſimple renewal of the peace of Breſlaw. The king of Poland was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, on conſenting to pay a contribution of one million of crowns, for which his electorate ſtood engaged, and promiſing never thenceforth to grant free paſſage through his territories to the enemies of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

Duration, expence, and conſequence of the war.

During two campaigns, which together laſted ſixteen months, the Pruſſians took 45,666 priſoners, and expended eight millions of crowns. At the concluſion of the peace, the Pruſſian treaſury contained only 150,000 crowns; the king of Poland was obliged to mortgage his revenues; and the finances of Maria Thereſa, notwithſtanding the ſubſidies which ſhe received from England, were reduced to the loweſt ebb. The main object of the war had been defeated by the unexpected death of the Emperor Charles VII. and a ſeries of victories only ſerved to confirm Frederick in the poſſeſſion of Sileſia.

CHAP. III.

Domeſtic improvements in Pruſſia between 1746 and 1756. State of Auſtria. Kaunitz's intrigues at Verſailles. The treaty of London. Alliance of the great powers. Frederick invades Saxony. Defeats the Auſtrians at Lowoſits. Defeats and takes the Saxon army at Pirna. His generoſity to the vanquiſhed. Correſpondence with George II. Invades Bohemia. Battle of Prague. Alarms the diet of Ratiſbon. Battle of Kolin. Duke of Cumberland's campaign. Diſtreſs of the Pruſſians. Battle of Roſbach. Battle of Leuthen. 100,000 *Ruſſians diſperſed by a ſtratagem. The Swedes repelled. Frederick on all ſides victorious.*

Domeſtic improvements between the years 1746 and 1756.

THE ſecond great act, in the reign of Frederick, was the memorable war of ſeven years, the moſt remarkable in modern times, for the variety and importance of events, the number of battles fought, the quantity of blood ſpilt and of treaſure expended, the perſeverance of fruitleſs exertions, and the ſuddenneſs of unexpected revolutions. Having foreſeen the obſtinacy and danger of this conflict, to which the reſentment of the Houſe of Auſtria would ſeize the firſt opportunity to provoke him, Frederick induſtriouſly employed the precious interval of peace, in improving his domeſtic reſources, and ſtrengthening his foreign alliances. The reformation of the courts of juſtice, with which his Majeſty obſerves that national reformation ought always to begin, was intruſted to chancellor Cocceji. This magiſtrate, who united with the probity of an ancient Roman, the talents of a Tribonian, purified the Pruſſian tribunals from unworthy and corrupt members, and digeſted, under his maſter's eye, a new code of laws, which, being approved by the ſtates, was univerſally promulgated, and univerſally admired, by all who derived not any immediate advantage from the law's obſcurity, expenſiveneſs, or delay.

Reformation of the courts of juſtice.

The finances improved

To the care of ſecuring property, ſucceded the labour of improving the revenue,

venue, and augmenting the ſources from which it flowed. From Swinemunde to Kuſtrin, the banks of the Oder were covered with deep marſhes, not only uſeleſs, but unwholeſome. By forming a canal from Kuſtrin to Wriegland, the peſtilential bogs were drained, and 2000 families were ſettled on this new and meritorious conqueſt. A ſimilar improvement in the country between Schwedt and Stettin afforded a comfortable reſidence for 1200 families. In the dutchy of Magdebourgh, it had been an immemorial cuſtom to hire the inhabitants of Voigland in Saxony, to aſſiſt in reaping the harveſt; at the concluſion of which, theſe poor labourers returned to their wretched homes. By granting them lands in the dutchy, Frederick engaged them to fix their reſidence there; and a ſimilar policy having attracted other indigent but induſtrious ſtrangers, greatly augmented the Pruſſian manufactures, and covered his Majeſty's dominions with 280 new villages. The plantation of mulberry-trees was promoted by the advice and example of the clergy. Founderies were eſtabliſhed at places abundant in wood, and

by enlarging the ſources from which they flowed.

remote from water carriage. Productive induſtry was not only excited but properly directed. Manufactures of luxury were confined to Potzdam and Berlin. The new harbour of Swinemunde, at the mouth of the Oder, delivered the Pruſſians from the heavy toll which they had hitherto paid the Swedes for paſſing the Peene. The duties on exportation were diminiſhed, while the produce of the cuſtoms was doubled: And excluſively of Sileſia and Eaſt Frieſeland, his Majeſty's dominions had gained, during ten years peace, an additional revenue of 1,200,000 crowns, without augmenting the old, or impoſing any new taxes; and his ſubjects, including the Sileſians, had become nearly twice as numerous as thoſe of his father, Frederick William.

Frederick enlightens his ſubjects and embelliſhes his dominions.

Induſtry well directed, and an increaſing populouſneſs, form the great baſis of national proſperity. By giving a decided preference to agriculture, mining, and other robuſt and manly occupations, Frederick provided an excellent nurſery for his army, which, during this long interval of peace, was greatly augmented, and completely diſciplined. Berlin and Potzdam were ſo much enlarged and ſo highly adorned, that they appeared new cities. On the important concerns of education, his Majeſty beſtowed unexampled attention, ſparing neither expence nor pains to procure good maſters, and making the moſt ſalutary regulations for the improvement of the ſchools and colleges. The labours of his academy he encouraged, not only by a munificence truly royal, but by the example of a prince who, amidſt the cares of government, found delight in the cultivation of letters.

Criticiſm on his literary productions.

His Memoirs of Brandenburgh were written in 1746, and from that period, till involved in the tumult of the ſeptennial war, he compoſed various pieces in proſe and verſe, which were publiſhed under the title of the "Philoſophe de Sans Souci." His proſe is ſimple and perſpicuous, diſtinguiſhed ſometimes by a natural fluency, and ſometimes by an elaborate plainneſs. In his correſpondence with Voltaire and D'Alembert, which is often indeed little better than a commerce of flattery, Frederick

derick maintains his ſuperiority over the firſt literary geniuſes of the age; always teſtifying reſpect for their talents, but often refuting their opinions; and while he affects to be the docile pupil of ſuch enlightened inſtructors, proving that the ſcholar ſurpaſſed his maſters as much in penetration and ſagacity, as in elevation and firmneſs of mind. Beſides the natural tameneſs of French poetry, which ſeldom admits "words that glow and thoughts that burn," it muſt be acknowledged that Frederick's poetical productions have ſomething of Germanic ſtiffneſs; yet if his verſes ſeldom flow with grace, or riſe to greatneſs, they never ſink into meanneſs, or confound by abſurdity. He pretends, at leaſt, to have heartily deſpiſed ſuch trifles, and obſerves in a letter to Voltaire, "I have only taſte enough to admire your poetry, but not judgment ſufficient to hinder me from writing bad verſes."

His army augmented and diſciplined.

But amidſt the wonderful variety of objects that occupied his capacious mind, the army, that weapon of defence and inſtrument of glory, ſtill maintained its due place.

His regiments were recruited from their reſpective diſtricts; which produced an augmentation of 10,000 men. Theſe troops annually aſſembled in camps of inſtruction; and Frederick, who knew that one good general is worth many battalions, exerted his utmoſt induſtry in alluring good officers to his ſervice. The artillery was increaſed to three battalions, part of which was deſtined for the uſe of the Sileſian garriſons. Schweidnitz, which is conveniently ſituate as a place of arms for invading Bohemia, was carefully fortified with that view: the works of Neiſſe, Coſel, Glatz, and Glogau, were repaired. Great magazines were provided of whatever is neceſſary for the equipment and ſubſiſtence of troops; ſo that at the out-break of the war in 1756, his Majeſty was prepared to keep the field for ſeveral campaigns, without having recourſe to the purſes of his ſubjects; a precaution which he thought neceſſary "againſt the boldneſs and animoſity of the Empreſs Queen, an enemy ambitious and vindictive, the more dangerous becauſe a woman, obſtinate in her opinions, and implacable in her hatred."

Endowed

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State of Auſtria, 1746—1756.

Endowed with ſingular talents for government, Maria Thereſa had repaired, by her good management, the loſſes ſuſtained in the former war. Her revenues amounted to 24,000,000 of crowns, a ſum greater than that enjoyed by her father, when maſter of Naples, Servia, and Sileſia. The Emperor, her huſband, who rarely interfered in matters of government, drew annually great ſums from Tuſcany, which he employed ſucceſsfully in commerce. He ſet up manufactures, and lent money on pledges. He undertook to furniſh the Imperial army with uniforms, arms, and horſes. Aſſociated with a count Bolza, and a merchant named Schimmerman, he farmed the revenues of Saxony; and what is more extraordinary, ſupplied with forage in 1756, the Pruſſian army, which made war againſt the Empreſs his ſpouſe. At various times, he furniſhed that princeſs with large ſums on good ſecurity, and inſtead of ſupporting the dignity of an emperor, ſtooped to the drudgery of a court banker.

Augmentation of its military ſtrength.

From the unfortunate iſſue of preceding wars, Maria Thereſa learned the neceſſity of introducing a better diſcipline in her army. During the ſpring and autumn, ſhe formed camps in the provinces; which ſhe often viſited, in order to encourage the troops by her preſence and her bounty. None ever knew better than this princeſs, the art of enhancing the value of thoſe imaginary rewards which ſovereigns can ſo eaſily and ſo cheaply beſtow; and none ever poſſeſſed more completely the rare and happy talent, of exciting in thoſe who approached her perſon, emulation, exertion, zeal, and a reſolution to riſk their all, in order to obtain her favour. Under the direction of prince Lichtenſtein, the artillery was augmented to ſix battalions; an example which produced that great uſe, or rather abuſe of cannon, which now univerſally prevails. A military ſchool was eſtabliſhed at Vienna, and ſoon adorned with eminent profeſſors in hiſtory, geography, and the mathematics. By theſe inſtitutions, the Auſtrian army acquired under Maria Thereſa ſuch perfection as it never had attained under any emperor of her auguſt houſe; and a woman thus accompliſhed deſigns worthy of a great man.

Count Kaunitz's intrigues at the court of Verſailles.

Amidſt theſe military preparations, count Kaunitz, a man ſo frivolous in his taſtes, but ſo profound in buſineſs, and who for upwards of thirty years has acted the firſt part at the Imperial court, was ſent as ambaſſador to Verſailles; where his anxiety to recover Sileſia for his miſtreſs laboured with infinite aſſiduity and unexampled addreſs. He often repeated to the miniſters of Lewis XV., that the aggrandiſement of Pruſſia was their work, in return for which they could expect nothing but ingratitude from a prince who was entirely governed by intereſt. Skilfully improving the impreſſion which he perceived his language began to make, he was heard to declare, as if the force of conviction had emboldened his ſentiments, "That the time was now come, when the French ought to emancipate themſelves from the influence of the kings of Pruſſia and Sardinia, and a number of petty princes, who ſtudiouſly ſowed diſſenſion between the great powers of Europe, in order to benefit themſelves. Excited by *their* artifices, the courts of Verſailles and Vienna were continually contriving ſchemes hoſtile to each other, and hurtful to both; whereas in conformity to the rules of juſt policy, they ought rather to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem of public conduct, as would remove every ground of difference or jealouſy, and lay the foundation for a ſolid and permanent peace." Theſe notions had at firſt appeared altogether extravagant to a people, who, ſince the rivality of Francis I. and Charles V. conſidered the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria as irreconcilable enemies. But as prince Kaunitz dexterouſly ſeized every opportunity of renewing the charge with effect, the French miniſtry began at length to be flattered with the idea of two great powers giving law to Europe; and the doctrine of the Imperial ambaſſador continually gained proſelytes. Lord Tyrconnel, French envoy at Berlin, frequently talked oſtentatiouſly of the independence of the *great powers*; and on one occaſion, forgot himſelf ſo far as to boaſt, "That ſhould the king of Pruſſia equivocate but ever ſo little, France would withdraw her protection, in which caſe he muſt infallibly be cruſhed."

Overtures of the French to Frederick.

Soon afterwards, the war broke out between France and England, reſpecting the limits of Canada; in which conteſt, prudence required his Pruſſian majeſty to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. But the French miniſtry ſeemed to believe that Frederick, in conſequence of his treaty with Lewis XV. which was not to expire till May 1756, ought to be conſidered as a ſubordinate prince, bound to engage in every quarrel, to which his paramount thought proper to ſummon him. They conjectured likewiſe, that by invading the electorate of Hanover, they would oblige George II. to ſettle his differences with France on eaſy terms. Upon theſe preſumptions, Mr. Rouillé, ſecretary for foreign affairs, ſaid to the Pruſſian envoy at Verſailles, "Write, I intreat you, to your maſter, that he may aſſiſt us in invading Hanover. There is abundance of plunder in that country—the coffers of George are always well pleniſhed—Frederick has only to ſeize them." His Pruſſian majeſty deſired his miniſter to reply, "That ſuch propoſitions were totally unſuitable to his maſter's character."

Meanwhile

Frederick concludes a treaty with George II. January 16, 1756.

Meanwhile George II., alarmed for the ſafety of his electorate, propoſed to the court of Berlin a treaty for maintaining the tranquillity of Germany. This treaty ſeemed more adviſable than a renewal of the alliance with France; yet, before finally concluding it, Frederick wiſhed to ſound the intentions of Ruſſia; and the chancellor Beſtuchew, who governed that court, being his declared enemy, he applied to lord Holderneſs, ſecretary of ſtate in England, to know whether Maria Thereſa or George II. had moſt influence with Elizabeth and her miniſters. Lord Holderneſs replied, That England and Ruſſia ſtood on the moſt friendly terms. Mr. Klinggraeff, Frederick's envoy at Vienna, obſerved, That as the Ruſſians were a people totally governed by avarice, there could not be the ſmalleſt doubt that they were better diſpoſed towards England, which could pay them large ſubſidies, than towards Maria Thereſa, who had not any money to ſpare. Information to the ſame purpoſe was given by the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague; and Frederick thinking it improbable that ſo many perſons, and thoſe ſo remote from each

other,

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other, ſhould entertain the ſame error, concluded his alliance with George II. the 16th January 1756. This treaty contained four articles, of which the three firſt reciprocally guaranteed the dominions of the contracting powers; the fourth contained a ſtipulation for preventing the entrance of foreign troops into Germany; and by a ſecret article, the Auſtrian Netherlands were excepted from this ſtipulation, and the ſum of 20,000l. was to be paid to the Pruſſian merchants, as an indemnification for the captures made by the Engliſh during the former war.

Duke of Nivernois's negotiation at Berlin.

The ratification of this treaty, which had been concluded at London, arrived at Berlin, about a month after the duke de Nivernois had been ſent to the latter capital, as ambaſſador from Lewis XV., to concert meaſures with Frederick for the invaſion of Hanover. The ſtrongeſt argument, which Nivernois uſed with his Majeſty was that of offering him the ſovereignty of the deſert iſland of Tobago. Frederick ſmiled at the ſingularity of this propoſal, and entreated the duke to diſcover ſome perſon fitter than himſelf, to be governor of the iſland of Barataria. Having declined in the politeſt terms to accept the propoſals of France, his Majeſty candidly ſhewed Mr. de Nivernois the original of his treaty with England. The news of this tranſaction occaſioned an univerſal outcry at Verſailles, where nothing was talked of by courtiers and miniſters, but the defection of the king of Pruſſia, who perfidiouſly deſerted his ancient protectors; and their violence of reproach and groſſneſs of abuſe made it probable that France would not long confine her reſentment to theſe unworthy means of vengeance.

Defenſive alliance between France and Auſtria, May 9, 1756.

Yet Frederick, as a ſovereign prince, was entitled to change his allies. In this particular, Maria Thereſa had been willing to ſet him the example; and the treaty of London immediately quickened the ſeeds which prince Kaunitz had ſown. The alliance between France and Auſtria, which was propoſed by count Starenberg, the Imperial miniſter at Verſailles, was ratified on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by Mr. Rouillé and the Abbé (now Cardinal) Bernis, the 9th May 1756. This famous treaty, which was announced with much oſtentation, as the union of the great powers, contained a mutual promiſe between the contracting parties, of reciprocally aſſiſting each other with 24,000 men, in caſe either of them ſhould be attacked in any part of their dominions.

Ruſſia and Saxony enter into the confederacy for cruſhing the king of Pruſſia, 1756.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Maria Thereſa precipitated the execution of her vengeance againſt Frederick; and the Empreſs Catharine, contrary to the expectation of all politicians, choſe rather to break with England, than to maintain a good correſpondence with any power that acknowledged his Pruſſian majeſty for its ally. In conſequence of this animoſity, which had been excited, and which was artfully fomented by the creatures of Maria Thereſa, the Ruſſians formed a camp in Livonia, 50,000 ſtrong; while the Auſtrians collected magazines, and aſſembled two armies in Bohemia, one of which was commanded by prince Picolomini at Kænigſgraetz, and the other by mareſchal Braun at Prague. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, entered warmly, but ſecretly, into all the projects of the court of Vienna. By a private channel Frederick learned completely the deſigns of his enemies. A clerk in the chancery of Dreſden regularly delivered to the Pruſſian envoy at that court, the weekly diſpatches from St. Peterſburgh and Vienna; by which it appeared that Ruſſia meant not to commence hoſtilities that year, her fleet not being in a condition to ſail; but promiſed to make vigorous exertions in the enſuing ſpring. In conſequence of this intelligence, Frederick contented himſelf with ſending twenty ſquadrons and ten battalions to Stolpe in Pomerania; a poſt which, being thus occupied, could not create much jealouſy in the enemy, and which was yet conveniently ſituate for ſending aſſiſtance, in caſe of danger, to mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded at Kænigſberg.

Frederick prepares to anticipate the deſigns of his enemies.

Meanwhile the Dreſden diſpatches became daily more alarming. The Empreſs Queen, deſtitute of a better pretence for making war, intended employing for that purpoſe a difference between his Pruſſian majeſty and the duke of Mecklenburgh. The Pruſſians had been accuſtomed to recruit ſome regiments in the dutchy of Mecklenburgh: this privilege, which had been long exerciſed, the duke angrily oppoſed; Frederick had done juſtice to himſelf; and this inſignificant matter, which had been adjuſted and forgotten, the court of Vienna intended to conſider as an infringement of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to require all the guarantees of that treaty to avenge the wrongs of the duke of Mecklenburgh, and to chaſtiſe the audacity of the Pruſſians. This hoſtile reſolution, and the movements of three armies on his frontiers, obliged Frederick to demand categorically of the Empreſs Queen, whether ſhe meant to keep the peace, or to break it. The anſwer of prince Kaunitz, now prime miniſter at Vienna, was evaſive. He wiſhed to perplex Frederick by ambiguities, and to compel him to commence hoſtilities. But as the Dreſden diſpatches ſpoke a clearer language, the odious *name* of aggreſſor, could not alarm a prince, who was ſufficiently enlightened to know that thoſe are *really* aggreſſors, whoſe meaſures oblige their neighbour to arm in his own defence. The Ruſſians were not yet ready to enter upon action, but their preparations were vigorous; the Saxon army was as yet only 18,000 ſtrong, but it might be augmented in the winter to 40,000 men. In this ſituation of affairs, was it to be expected that Frederick's irreſolution or falſe delicacy ſhould allow his numerous enemies to aſſault him on all ſides at once? The ſafety of the houſe of Brandenburgh was at ſtake; and the king's duty to his family and his ſubjects determined him to ſet vain formalities at defiance. Having ſignified to the court of Vienna, that he conſidered prince Kaunitz's anſwer as a declaration of war, he prepared to reſiſt the deſigns of the moſt formidable confederacy that Europe had ever formed againſt a ſingle prince.

Determines to make himſelf maſter of Saxony.

In order to cover Brandenburgh, and to carry the war into Bohemia, it was neceſſary to be maſter of Saxony, becauſe, unleſs he commanded that electorate, Frederick left an enemy behind him; who, by intercepting the free navigation of the Elbe, as had already happened in the campaign of 1744, might have rendered his expedition

tion fruitleſs. Some Pruſſian regiments, therefore, were commanded to march ſouthwards from Pomerania; in conſequence of which movement, the Saxons occupied a poſt between the Elbe and the Muldau. They ſoon quitted however that poſt, entered into their ordinary quarters, and having thus diſperſed themſelves through the country, again aſſembled in their cantonments. Their marches and countermarches did not deceive the king, who knew that until their auxiliaries arrived, they would fix their camp at Pirna, a place ten miles diſtant from Dreſden, where nature had formed a natural fortreſs, that diſdained the aſſiſtance of art.

Deſcription of Pirna.

The town of Pirna is ſituate in a hollow, defended on the weſt by high rocks, on the north by the fort of Kohlberg, and a ravin eighty feet deep. The ſouth is protected by the mountains of Sonnenſtein, and the eaſt is rendered inacceſſible by the Elbe, whoſe current, compreſſed between rocks, flows with rapidity in a narrow and deep channel.

Frederick invades Saxony, and publiſhes the diſpatches ſeized at Dreſden, Auguſt 1756.

Frederick determined that his army ſhould march in three diviſions, and rendezvous in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. The firſt diviſion, which advanced from Magdeburgh, was commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; the ſecond, by the prince of Bevern, and the third by his Majeſty in perſon. Having arrived at the place of their deſtination, they found the Saxons encamped at Pirna, under the command of the king of Poland, their elector. The Queen had remained at Dreſden, which was not even garriſoned. Frederick ſent to compliment her Majeſty; and his troops, in taking poſſeſſion of the capital, obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline. The army next day proceeded to Pirna; the Saxons were completely blocked up in their camp; and being better prepared for writing than fighting, they endeavoured to ſet on foot a negotiation, which, as it ſeemed intended merely to amuſe, his Pruſſian Majeſty rejected. Their complaints, couched in terms the moſt injurious to the Pruſſians, ſoon reſounded through Germany. In order to undeceive the public, Frederick felt the neceſſity of obtaining the originals of the Dreſden diſpatches, and of the hoſtile negotiations of the king of Poland; becauſe, had he publiſhed the copies, of which he was already in poſſeſſion, his enemies would not have heſitated to accuſe him of forgery. He gave orders, therefore, that the originals ſhould be ſeized; the Queen remonſtrated in vain; the archives of Dreſden were ranſacked, and the obnoxious papers were found, carefully packed up, and ready to be ſent to Poland. Frederick cauſed them to be immediately publiſhed.

The Saxons blocked up at Pirna, October 1756.

The Saxon camp, though proof againſt every other mode of attack, was peculiarly expoſed to famine, as the paſſages leading to it were narrow and difficult, and the enemy had not been allowed time to form any conſiderable magazines. With one part of his troops, Frederick formed almoſt a complete circumvallation around it, another ſerved as an army of obſervation to intercept ſupplies; and the third diviſion, which he headed in perſon, marched into Bohemia, to reſiſt general Braun, who had orders from the court of Vienna to uſe his beſt endeavours for relieving the Saxons. The Pruſſian detachment in Bohemia ſcarcely amounted to half the number of the enemy; yet ſuch was their confidence in their own bravery and the ſkill of their commander, that they conſidered themſelves as at leaſt equal in ſtrength. Their confidence was not vain; for at Lowoſitz, on the left of the Elbe, his Majeſty defeated general Braun, and obliged him to repaſs the Eger. Satisfied with obtaining this victory at the commencement of the war, he left Lowoſitz the 13th with fifteen ſquadrons, and on the 14th at mid-day rejoined his troops at Struppen near Pirna.

The Auſtrians defeated by Frederick at Lowoſitz, 1ſt October.

Before this time the Saxons had been reduced to great difficulties; they were diſpirited by the defeat of their allies; their hopes of aſſiſtance had vaniſhed. As their ſituation muſt continually grow more diſtreſsful, they embraced a reſolution, which would have been great, had it been practicable. The camp of Pirna, into which, from local circumſtances, it was ſo difficult to enter, was, for ſimilar reaſons, equally difficult to evacuate; and the Saxons, in occupying this poſt, had only conſidered how they

The Saxon army, attempting to eſcape from Pirna, defeated and made priſoners, October 16, 1756.

they might render it impenetrable to their enemies, not by what means, in caſe of famine, they might themſelves be enabled to eſcape. The rough rocks over which they had to clamber, the narrow defiles through which they had to paſs, were occupied by the Pruſſians. They attempted however to eſcape by Tirmſdorf into the plain of Altſtadt, through a narrow path frequented only by fiſhermen, leaving their cannon and baggage in the entrenchments which they had abandoned. The vigilant enemy with whom they had to contend, not only oppoſed them in front, but eagerly ſeizing the ſtrong holds which they had left, directed ſome pieces of cannon againſt their rear. This unexpected attack converted their retreat into a flight. The king of Poland, who had poſted himſelf on the lofty fortreſs of Kænigſtein, was a melancholy ſpectator of the deplorable condition of his troops, deſerted by their allies, deſtitute of bread, ſurrounded with enemies, and reduced to ſuch a condition of diſtreſs, that even valour was uſeleſs. He commanded them to lay down their arms and to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

In

Frede-rick's generoſity to the vanquiſhed.

In conſequence of the capitulation granted to theſe unfortunate men, the officers engaged not to ſerve againſt his Pruſſian Majeſty during the preſent war, and were immediately releaſed. His Majeſty, in order to mitigate the afflictions of the king of Poland, reſtored to that Prince the Saxon ſtandards and colours, granting at the ſame time a neutrality to the fortreſs of Kænigſtein. Auguſtus availed himſelf of this lenity to correſpond ſecretly with the Empreſs Queen, and engaged for a ſmall ſubſidy to employ ſix Poliſh regiments in her ſervice. His misfortunes, however, had diſguſted him with the war: he aſked permiſſion to travel with ſafety into Poland, which was readily granted; and his Pruſſian Majeſty, with an attention due to a royal adverſary in diſtreſs, commanded his own troops to retire from both ſides of the road through which Auguſtus had to paſs, that the unfortunate prince might not be offended by the ſight of his armed conquerors. The 18th he departed for Warſaw with his two ſons and his miniſter. The Saxon priſoners, who amounted to 17,000 men, were formed into twenty new battalions; but as Frederick neglected to mix with them a due proportion of his own ſubjects, he never derived much advantage from their ſervice.

The Pruſſians go into winter quarters, November 1756.

The main object of the campaign being thus happily attained, the king ſeized the earlieſt opportunity of putting his troops into winter quarters. They formed a cordon, or line of defence, which occupied the moſt advantageous poſts from the northern diſtricts of Brandenburgh to the ſouthern extremity of Sileſia, not only covering the frontiers of his Majeſty's dominions, but ſecuring poſſeſſion of the ground which he had already gained in the territory of his enemies.

Preparations during the winter, 1757.

During the winter, the ſtorms, which his Majeſty had foreſeen, had time to collect againſt him; and the expedient employed in order to break their force, ſeemed only to increaſe their fury. The clamours excited by the barbarous invaſion of Saxony, reſounded from Vienna to St. Peterſburgh and Verſailles. The intrigues of Maria Thereſa and her miniſters were aſſiſted by the tears of the Dauphineſs. Their combined force moved the pacific mind of Lewis XV. reluctantly engaged in a war with England, to ſend into Germany in the enſuing ſpring, not 24,000, but 100,000, men. The Swedes, whoſe magiſtrates had long been penſioners to France, were required to take arms; a ſummons which that people, once warlike, and ſtill lovers of war, prepared to obey. In Ruſſia, the Empreſs Queen repreſented the invaſion of Saxony as an inſult to the power of Elizabeth, who had guaranteed to Auguſtus the ſafety of his electorate. The pride of the court of St. Peterſburgh was ſtimulated by the profuſion of the court of Vienna, which gained the Ruſſian miniſters by bribes, and Elizabeth herſelf by a ſubſidy of two millions of crowns. In the diet of Ratiſbon, the repreſentatives of Maria Thereſa exerted equal zeal and met with ſimilar ſucceſs. Through *their* intrigues, and the menaces of France, the Holy Roman Empire adopted as its own the cauſe of the Empreſs Queen, and determined to raiſe what was called an army of execution, with a view to chaſtiſe the electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover. It was propoſed

that

that theſe rebellious princes ſhould be put to the ban of the empire; a meaſure that was with ſome reluctance rejected, upon conſidering that by precipitating that harſh reſolution the court of Vienna would commit its own dignity to the viciſſitudes of war, and that there was ſome riſque, leſt the two kings, if treated with unſeaſonable ſeverity, might ſeparate themſelves altogether from the Germanic body. Theſe reflections prevented not however the groſſeſt abuſe from being heaped on the king of Pruſſia, both by the court of Vienna and the Fiſcal of the empire. His Majeſty cauſed it to be inſinuated to both, that it became generous minds to make war with the ſword rather than with the pen. His remonſtrances proved ineffectual, till his army had gained ſome very important battles.

George II. rejects Frederick's judicious plan of campaign.

George II. the only powerful ally of his Pruſſian Majeſty, was overwhelmed by domeſtic diſſenſions which threatened the ſafety of his kingdom. Amidſt perpetual revolutions in the Britiſh miniſtry, the intereſt of the public was neglected by all parties alike; and, notwithſtanding the formidable preparations of the enemy, there was not any plan formed for carrying on the war by ſea or by land. The king of Pruſſia was too deeply concerned in the meaſures of England, not to think it neceſſary to interfere. As he foreſaw, in general, what would be the tendency of the French operations in Germany, he ſent to his Britannic Majeſty a memoir, containing a ſcheme of defence for their own dominions, and thoſe of their allies, in that country. George II. who had not beſtowed much attention on ſubjects of that nature, diſtruſted Frederick's propoſal, becauſe the latter exhorted the defending of Weſel, the ſtrongeſt town in his dutchy of Cleves, as a place of arms, from which the allies might occaſionally move towards either the Rhine or the Weſer. This plan of operations his Britannic Majeſty declared too extenſive, and determined, in conformity to the opinion of his Hanoverian counſellors, to confine himſelf to the defence of the Weſer; an idea palpably abſurd, ſince that river is long, in moſt places fordable, and the ſide towards the electorate of Hanover every

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where commanded by the oppoſite bank. His perſeverance in this extraordinary project obliged his Pruſſian Majeſty to raſe part of the fortifications of Weſel, and to ſend the heavy ordnance of that important place by ſea to Magdeburgh. The garriſon received orders to retire to Bieleſield, and there to wait the arrival of the Heſſians and Hanoverians, who were to aſſemble under the duke of Cumberland early in the ſpring.

The queen of Poland's intrigues.

During his irkſome correſpondence with George II. his Pruſſian Majeſty remained at Dreſden, where the intrigues of the queen of Poland gave him much trouble. That princeſs ſent daily to compliment him, and laviſhed on him her aſſurances of friendſhip, but meanwhile condeſcended to act the part of a ſpy to the Auſtrian generals. Her correſpondence was diſcovered, by the king's vigilance, in cauſing to be carefully examined at the gates all the parcels that arrived from Bohemia. This diſcovery, however, did not put an end to the queen's intrigues with his Majeſty's enemies; nor interrupt her endeavours to debauch from their duty the Saxon regiments which had been taken at Pirna. Her emiſſaries were buſy in all the garriſons where theſe troops were ſtationed; and in conſequence of ſuch unworthy machinations, many of them mutinied, and many revolted to the enemy. But as they ſtill wanted commanders, the king of Poland and his allies diſpenſed the Saxon officers taken at Pirna from their word of honour not to ſerve againſt Pruſſia during the preſent war; a ſtretch of authority, or rather a violation of juſtice, which, whatever eccleſiaſtics might venture to do in dark ages, had never before been hazarded by lay princes; and which marks the ſpirit of vindictive animoſity and implacable hatred with which this memorable war was carried on.

Frederick goes to Sileſia, and concerts his operations with mareſchal Schwerin, March 1757.

During the winter, the Pruſſian troops were ſometimes diſturbed in their quarters, particularly in Luſatia, a part of Saxony which, narrowing towards Zittau, penetrates like a wedge into Bohemia. From their garriſons in the latter country, the enemy fatigued the Pruſſians by frequent alarms, and though they did not ſucceed in

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ſurpriſing any of their poſts, they haraſſed them by the anxiety of perpetual vigilance, and the hard neceſſity of continually ſending aſſiſtance from one place to another. As the Auſtrians had been reinforced in thoſe parts by draughts from their garriſons in Flanders, Frederick was obliged to recal his regiments from Pomerania, which had been originally deſtined to aſſiſt mareſchal Lehwald againſt the Ruſſians. They arrived at Gærlitz in Luſatia towards the middle of March, from which time the enemy began to give leſs diſturbance. In the ſame month, his Majeſty paſſed into Sileſia in order to have an interview with mareſchal Schwerin. They met at Haynau, and there ſettled the plan of the enſuing campaign.

Deceives the enemy, and unexpectedly invades Bohemia, April and May 1757.

About the end of March, the Pruſſians entered into their cantonments. Thoſe who had wintered in Luſatia were aſſembled under the prince of Bevern at Zittau; prince Maurice commanded at Zwickau in Bohemia; mareſchal Schwerin advanced towards the weſtern frontier of Sileſia; and the king with the largeſt diviſion of the army occupied the heart of Saxony. Againſt the *five* powers, with whom his Majeſty had to contend (for although the Saxons were already conquered, the Auſtrians, French, Swedes, Ruſſians, and troops of the Circles, had now armed againſt him), it became neceſſary to contrive a ſcheme of operations, which might enable him, with the fourth part of their ſtrength, to diſconcert at leaſt, and intimidate, though he could not hope to ſubdue, his multiplied enemies. For this purpoſe, he founded his project of the campaign on the plan of a battle; and having fixed his point of attack, determined to ſtrike ſuch a blow in one part as would ſtun and confound the whole. The four diviſions of his forces were to march by different routes into the centre of Bohemia, and to rendezvous at Prague. In order to maſk this deſign, which it was neceſſary to conceal from his own army as well as from the enemy, his Majeſty fortified his camps in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, as if he had intended to confine himſelf chiefly to a defenſive war. The queen of Poland failed not to ſend immediately this glad intelligence to the Auſtrian

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generals. To lull them in ſecurity, Frederick made ſome feeble incurſions into Bohemia with a view of avenging, as it ſeemed, the inſults which the Auſtrians, during winter, had committed in Luſatia. While they were amuſed by theſe petty enterpriſes, beyond which they conjectured that his Majeſty's operations were not likely to extend, the different diviſions of the Pruſſian army began to move, ſome of them on the 20th, and others on the 29th of April. For facilitating the march, each diviſion advanced in many ſeparate columns; and amidſt the variety of directions taken by ſuch numerous bodies of men coming from different quarters, ſeveral of theſe columns were attacked by detachments of the enemy; but being ſufficiently near each other to afford mutual relief, they generally prevailed in all theſe rencounters, and purſued with little interruption their undeviating line of march.

Battle of Prague, May 5, 1757.

On the 5th of May, they aſſembled in force in the neighbourhood of Prague, where general Braun lay with one diviſion of the Auſtrian army, impatiently waiting the arrival of mareſchal Daun, who had ſucceeded prince Piccolomini in the command of the other. The king determined to attack general Braun before he was reinforced. Having examined his poſition, he found that his left reſted on the mountain of Ziſka, under the protection of the works of Prague; his right terminated at the village of Sterboholi; and a ravine an hundred feet deep defended his front. In order to make him quit this advantageous ground, Frederick formed his army in two lines, and marched by his left towards the town of Poſtchernitz. General Braun, perceiving this manœuvre, marched with part of his forces in a line parallel to the Pruſſians, which was preciſely what his Majeſty deſired. Beyond the village of Bechowitz, the Pruſſian cavalry found a plain bounded by a lake, which afforded them ſufficient room to extend their front, while the village on the one ſide, and the lake on the other, ſerved to ſecure their flanks. They attacked the Auſtrian cavalry with great vigour; and in the third charge broke and totally routed them. The Pruſſian battalions had now formed; and before waiting the arrival of the ſecond line, they attacked the enemy's infantry with more courage than prudence. By a moſt deſtructive fire of artillery, they were repelled, though ſurely not with diſgrace, ſince the braveſt officers, and one half of the men, were left dead on the field. On this emergence, mareſchal Schwerin, who, in the extremity of old age, glowed with youthful ardour, ſeized a ſtandard, put himſelf at the head of his regiment, renewed the charge, and diſplayed efforts of extraordinary valour. But numbers finally prevailed, and the mareſchal fell, thus brightening by his death the luſtre of his glorious life.

Death of mareſchal Schwerin.

Frederick defeats the Auſtrians, who loſe 24,000 men.

Meanwhile the ſecond line advanced; and reinforced by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, the king again charged the Auſtrian infantry, repelled them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them beyond their tents, which they had not found time to ſtrike. The enemy's right wing was thus totally routed; and if the Pruſſian cavalry had not loſt time in plundering the baggage, this whole body of infantry muſt have been killed or taken. The Pruſſian right had been commanded not to advance, on account of the deep ravine which defended the enemy's left. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, the raſh impetuoſity of general Mannſtein, whoſe courage boiled too fiercely at ſight of an enemy, produced an engagement likewiſe on this ſide. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, and the prince of Bevern, who alike diſapproved his conduct, were obliged to ſupport his attack. After great loſs of men, their obſtinate valour finally proved ſucceſsful; and the right wing of the Auſtrians being diſperſed, their left had no better reſource, but to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of Prague. This battle began at nine in the morning, and the purſuit laſted till eight in the evening. The Auſtrians loſt 24,000 men, of whom 5,000 were made priſoners. The loſs of the Pruſſians amounted to 18,000, without reckoning general Schwerin, who (Frederick obſerves) was alone worth a great army, and whoſe death (he ſays) tarniſhed the laurels of this victory, purchaſed by a blood too precious.

Frederick blocks up Prague, May 1757.

Next day, the king ſummoned Prague to ſurrender; but general Krockow, whom he employed in this commiſſion, was not a little ſurpriſed to find in that city, prince Charles of Lorraine, and to learn that 40,000 Auſtrians, who had eſcaped from the field of battle, were ſhut up within its walls. The town is ſurrounded with rocks and vineyards, which command it on all ſides; and its fortifications, originally ill-contrived, had in many places fallen to decay. Yet its garriſon was not to be attacked but by a far ſuperior army; its baſtions had caſemates that were proof againſt bombs and artillery; and mareſchal Daun, having already proceeded to Teutchbrodt, haſtened to relieve the Bohemian capital.

His detachments alarm the Diet of Ratiſbon, and make many princes of the empire crave peace.

The king, by occupying the moſt convenient poſts, blocked up Prague, ſent general Ziethen and the prince of Bevern to retard the progreſs of mareſchal Daun, and in order to follow the blow which he had already given the enemy, detached general Meyer to alarm the pedants of Ratiſbon, and to intimidate the princes of the empire.

Meyer entered the biſhopric of Bamberg, extended his hoſtilities to Nurenberg, and ſpread terror to the gates of Ratiſbon; the Diet of which was deſerted in trepidation by thoſe arrogant deputies, who, pretending to be the judges of kings, had long loaded his Pruſſian majeſty with the moſt inſolent abuſe. The conſternation produced by this incurſion determined the elector of Bavaria and other princes to ſend agents to the king, to treat of their particular intereſts, and almoſt every member of the Germanic body was ready to deſert the cauſe of the Houſe of Auſtria, when a ſudden revolution of fortune gave a new turn to their councils.

Daun comes to the relief of Prague with 60,000 men, June 1757.

Frederick, perſiſting in the blockade of Prague, had repreſſed the ſallies of the garriſon, and had reduced it to ſuch ſtraits for proviſions, that, by the unanimous teſtimony of deſerters, the ſoldiers ſubſiſted on horſe-fleſh. But in order to take that city, and the numerous army by which it was defended, it became neceſſary to repel mareſchal Daun, becauſe the troops who formed the circumvallation, could not at once defend both their front and their rear; and

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and their circumſtances admitted not of their being further ſtraightened in their ground, becauſe they were already obliged to forage at the diſtance of twenty miles from their camp. Theſe conſiderations determined Frederick to put himſelf at the head of ten battalions and twenty ſquadrons, in order to reinforce the prince of Bevern. On the road to Kolin, his Majeſty diſcovered two columns marching towards Kaurzim, which were ſoon found to be Bevern's detachment, retreating before the army of mareſchal Daun, which was 60,000 ſtrong. The Auſtrians were encamped at Wiſoka; where their diſpoſition was concealed by thick foreſts crowded with pandours. The king propoſed to proceed to Scwoiſchitz, the ſituation of which rendered it capable of defence. But his forces had ſcarcely begun to march, when they beheld Daun's army already formed, their right defended by the Elbe, their left reſting on Zaſmuky, and their front towards Kaurzim covered by a marſh. It was neceſſary for the Pruſſians either to retreat, in which caſe they muſt have been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Prague, or to riſk another battle, by which, if victorious, they would have obtained ſuch an aſcendency as muſt probably have decided the fortune of the war. The princes of the empire, already fluctuating and fearful, would have craved a neutrality; the French vivacity would have been fatigued and diſconcerted; the Swedes would have become more pacific; and the Ruſſians, looking forward to conſequences, muſt have perceived, that Frederick, now relieved from his other enemies, might ſend a very formidable army towards his northern frontier. Such were the conſiderations which determined his Majeſty to attack mareſchal Daun.

Movements preceding the battle of Kolin, June 18, 1757.

The army began to march on the 18th, early in the morning, in two columns, towards Kolin. The mareſchal being informed of this movement, immediately changed his front, and marching on his right, advanced along the hills, in a direction parallel to that of the Pruſſians, whoſe progreſs he endeavoured to interrupt by 5000 of Nadaſti's huſſars. A body of cavalry was employed in driving theſe light troops from one place to another, until the king gained an eminence, of which it was neceſſary to keep poſſeſſion. While his troops advanced, his Majeſty profited of the interval, to aſſemble the general officers, and to concert the plan of the engagement. From an inn which happened to be in that neighbourhood, they could diſtinctly perceive the order in which mareſchal Daun had drawn up his men, and the whole extent of the ground on which they were to act. His front was defended by ſteep and rugged rocks, but his right was ill ſupported; and the Pruſſians might charge that wing with great advantage from the eminence which they already occupied. To ſecure ſucceſs, it was neceſſary that this attack ſhould be ſupported by the whole Pruſſian infantry, for which reaſon his Majeſty meant to keep in reſerve his right wing, a meaſure the more judicious, becauſe the oppoſite diviſion of the Auſtrians was poſted on ground altogether inacceſſible. Mr. Ziethen's forty ſquadrons were ordered to reſiſt the incurſions of Nadaſti's huſſars; the reſt of the cavalry were poſted behind the line.

Frederick's plan of the engagement.

The battle loſt by the raſhneſs of Mr. Mannſtein, June 18, 1757.

Having made this diſpoſition, which, if maintained, muſt have rendered the Pruſſians victorious, his Majeſty ordered Mr. Hulſen, with ſeven battalions and fourteen pieces of artillery, to begin the action. Of twenty-four battalions which remained, fifteen compoſed the firſt line, and nine the ſecond. Mr. Ziethen attacked the huſſars with great ſpirit, totally routed them, and purſued them to Kolin. Hulſen's battalions likewiſe gained ground, drove the enemy from an elevated church-yard which helped to cover their right, and ſeized two of their batteries, of twelve cannons each. Hitherto every thing went well; but the faults which immediately followed, occaſioned the loſs of the battle. Prince Maurice, who commanded the infantry on the left, inſtead of reſting that wing on the village which Mr. Hulſen had gained, allowed an interval of 1000 paces, and thereby left his flank unſupported. His Majeſty perceived the error, and haſtened to fill up the line; but, at that inſtant, diſcovered a briſk fire on the right. He inſtantly rode thither, and found that the raſhneſs of Mr. Mannſtein, who had ſo injudiciouſly entered into action at Prague,

had

had again committed the ſame fault. Having obſerved that a village in front was occupied by pandours, he felt a ſtrong inclination to diſlodge them; in direct oppoſition to his orders, he aſſaulted the village, expelled the enemy, and purſued them to ſuch a diſtance, as left his battalions expoſed to the fire of the Auſtrian artillery. Their infantry likewiſe had advanced; the Pruſſian infantry on the right was obliged to ſupport Mr. Mannſtein; and before his Majeſty arrived, the engagement had become ſo warm, that it was impoſſible for him to draw off his troops, without ſuffering a total defeat. By this time, the left wing had alſo entered into action; the battle became general, and the king, as he laments moſt bitterly, was reduced to the neceſſity of being an uſeleſs ſpectator of irremediable errors, not having a ſingle battalion in reſerve, of which he could diſpoſe. Mareſchal Daun profited, like an able general, of the errors of the Pruſſians; and by an evolution of his reſerve, attacked Mr. Hulſen, who had hitherto been victorious. Hulſen however ſtill maintained his ground, and if it had been poſſible to ſupply him with four freſh battalions, he would have yet gained the battle. The Pruſſian infantry, in the centre and on the right, likewiſe advanced on the enemy; but as they ſuffered much by a heavy fire of muſquetry and artillery, it was neceſſary to fill up their intervals with cavalry. A regiment of horſe, having boldly attacked the enemy's line, was repelled by a battery of cannon purpoſely directed againſt it, and the regiments of Bevern and Henry were involved in the tumult of its retreat. Before this unfortunate event, the Auſtrians had begun on all ſides to give way, when colonel d'Ayaſſas, without waiting orders, attacked with his dragoons the Pruſſian infantry at the ſame moment that they had been thrown into confuſion by the preſſure of their own horſe. The king perceived this deciſive movement, and after ſtriving in vain to rally his cuiraſſiers, had recourſe to two regiments of Truchſes, who attacked the Auſtrian cavalry in flank, and drove them to the foot of the mountains. But before this happened, the Pruſſian regiments were broken and repelled, except the firſt battalion of guards, which had reſiſted four battalions of

infantry

infantry and two regiments of horſe, that attempted to ſurround it. But the exertions of a ſingle battalion could not gain a battle. Mr. Hulſen ſtill kept his ground till towards nine in the evening, when he was obliged to retire together with the whole army.

Daun's inactivity allows Frederick time to eſcape into Saxony.

In this engagement, the king loſt 8000 of his beſt troops; and had mareſchal Daun's activity been equal to his military ſkill, the conſequences of the battle of Kolin would have proved far more fatal than the battle itſelf. The Pruſſians were unmoleſted in their retreat, and the king arriving next day at Prague, had leiſure to make proper diſpoſitions for raiſing the blockade, for collecting the remains of the vanquiſhed at Kolin, and for retiring with little loſs into Saxony.

Conſequences of the battle of Kolin.

The conſequences of his Majeſty's defeat were, however, ſufficiently diſaſtrous. The army at Prague, under prince Charles of Lorraine, joined mareſchal Daun at Brandeis; and by their invincible ſuperiority in numbers, ſucceſſively made themſeves maſters of Gabel, Tetſchen, Auſſig, Leutmeritz,

meritz, and all the other poſts which the Pruſſians had eſtabliſhed in Bohemia. Their partiſans likewiſe ſurpriſed ſeveral of his Majeſty's detachments in their route to Saxony. The unfortunate Mannſtein, famous for having precipitately brought on the battle of Prague, and for having occaſioned, by his raſhneſs, the defeat at Kolin, was travelling to Dreſden to be cured of his wounds, under an eſcort of 200 men. The eſcort was overtaken by Mr. Laudohn: Mannſtein ſeized his ſword, ſprung from his carriage, fought with the madneſs of deſpair, and died obſtinately refuſing quarter.

Death of general Mannſtein.

The king having conducted his army into Saxony, was obliged to employ ſome weeks in arrangements relative to ſubſiſtence. Mareſchal Daun had poſted himſelf in a ſtrong camp at Echartſberg, and prepared with his numerous army to invade Sileſia. The duke of Richelieu threatened Magdeburgh; the prince of Soubiſe had proceeded to Erfurd; the Swedes paſſed the Peene at Anclam; the Ruſſians ravaged Pruſſia; and the troops of the circles were in motion to aſſiſt the French

The Pruſſian dominions aſſaulted on all ſides, July and Auguſt 1757.

in driving his Majeſty from Saxony. Amidſt theſe multiplied dangers, the king was deſerted by his only ally; and the extraordinary expedition of the duke of Cumberland is too deeply connected with the occurrences of this campaign not to find a place in hiſtory.

Unfortunate expedition of the duke of Cumberland, July and September 1757.

According to the abſurd project of the Hanoverian miniſters, his royal highneſs determined to defend the eaſtern bank of the Weſer, as if that river had been as impaſſable as the Rhine. He gave orders for the fortifying of Minden and Hameln, a deſign of which ſurely it was too late to think. The French advanced to Corbie, paſſed the Weſer, proceeded to Munſter; and the duke, fearing leſt he ſhould be attacked, aſſembled his detachments, and encamped at Haſtenbeck, the poſition of which had been deſcribed to him as excellent. The French army approached on the 24th; the following day Mr. D'Etrees ſpent in examining the ground, and the duke of Cumberland in cannonading him without effect. On the 26th, the French, availing themſelves of the concealment of a wood,

July.

a wood, attacked the left of the allies, and ſeized one of their batteries. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick regained the battery ſword in hand, and proved, in his firſt exploit, that nature had formed him for a hero. At the ſame time a Hanoverian colonel, named Breitenbach, obeying no other order but that of his own courage, aſſembled a few battalions, penetrated into the wood, attacked the French in rear, put them to flight, and made himſelf maſter of their cannon and colours. Mr. D'Etrees, regarding the battle as loſt, ordered a retreat, and had hardly time by the advice of the duke of Orleans to countermand his orders, when, to the univerſal aſtoniſhment of the French army, it appeared that the duke of Cumberland was himſelf retreating in great haſte towards Hameln. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick was obliged to abandon the battery, which he had recovered with ſo much glory; and the courageous Breitenbach was deſerted. That moſt deſerving officer remained alone maſter of the field of battle, and carried next day to the duke of Cumberland the trophies of his victory.

Convention of Cloſter-Seven, 8th September 1757;

His royal highneſs regretted his own precipitation in quitting a field, which the enemy had no inclination to diſpute; but neither the remonſtrances of the duke of Brunſwick, nor the repreſentations of his generals, could perſuade him to interrupt his flight. He haſtened to Nienbourgh, from thence to Verden, and then followed the road to Staden through Rotenbourg; abandoning, by this injudicious movement, the whole country to the French, from whom, after the affair of Haſtenbach, he determined to keep at a due diſtance. But to this reſolution the duke of Richelieu, who ſucceeded Mr. D'Etrees, was unwilling to conſent. The Engliſh duke was ſhut up in an angle, and compelled to ſign the famous convention of Cloſter-Seven. By this treaty, the troops of Heſſe, Brunſwick, and Gotha, were to return to their reſpective countries; the Hanoverians were to remain at Staden in a diſtrict aſſigned them: no mention was made of their electorate, which remained in poſſeſſion of the French: and the duke of Cumberland, without waiting to ratify the treaty, haſtened to England.

This opprobrious convention completed the diſtreſs of the Pruſſians. His Majeſty, weak as his army already was, felt the neceſſity of detaching prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick to defend Magdebourgh. He likewiſe detached prince Maurice to Leipſic, to overawe 15,000 Auſtrians at Bautzen, and to be in readineſs, by that central ſituation, to co-operate, as circumſtances required, either with prince Ferdinand, or with himſelf. Mareſchal Daun ſtudiouſly declined an engagement, and it was impoſſible to force his poſt.

which completes the diſtreſs of the Pruſſians.

Frederick, whoſe affairs could only be retrieved by ſome ſplendid exploit, and who, like Cæſar, was always moſt active and moſt formidable after a defeat, turned his views towards the French army at Erfurd, commanded by the prince of Soubiſe. With this deſign, he marched from Dreſden to Rœtha, and from thence to Pegau; Mr. Seidlitz with his dragoons every where clearing the road of the enemy's huſſars, of whom many were made priſoners. At the head of 2000 horſe and two battalions of grenadiers, the king advanced to Erfurd, and

Frederick's bold deſign.

and was much ſurpriſed to behold the prince of Soubiſe retiring towards Gotha. Erfurd was ſummoned to ſurrender; and his Majeſty, being joined by the reſt of his forces, which in all amounted only to eight battalions and twenty-ſeven ſquadrons, cantoned them in the neighbouring villages, inſtead of incloſing them in one camp, which would have betrayed the ſmallneſs of their numbers. At changing their quarters, the regiments changed their names, which multiplied them without end, in the imagination of the French ſpies. At the head of twenty ſquadrons, the king advanced to Gotha, diſlodged the Imperial huſſars, and purſued them towards Eiſenach, where the prince of Soubiſe having fixed his camp, had been joined by the prince of Hildbourghauſen, commander in chief of the troops of the Circles.

Deceives the French and Auſtrians.

Illuſtrious exploit of Mr. Seidlitz.

The king returned to Erfurd, and left Mr. Seidlitz with the cavalry at Gotha, where the French and Auſtrians had behaved with great indecency to the Ducal family, one of the moſt ancient in the empire. A few days after the king's departure,

ture, Mr. Seidlitz was attacked by a force far-ſuperior to his own. The prince of Hildbourghauſen, ambitious to ſignalize his entrance on command, adviſed the prince of Soubiſe to aſſiſt him in recovering Gotha. For this purpoſe they advanced towards the city, with the whole grenadiers, the Auſtrian cavalry, the French light troops, and Laudohn's pandours. Mr. Seidlitz was ſeaſonably appriſed of their deſign. On ſuch an emergency, an ordinary general would have been contented to retire before the enemy, and to have ſacrificed a part of his rear to the ſafety of his detachment. But Mr. Seidlitz having occupied a poſt in the neighbourhood of Gotha, placed, at half a mile's diſtance, behind his line, Czettriz's dragoons, with orders to make a ſhow by forming in one rank. This ſkilful manœuvre deceived and intimidated the enemy. They believed that the whole Pruſſian army, which they conjectured to be very numerous, was marching to attack them. By the fluctuation of their movements, Mr. Seidlitz perceived that his ſtratagem had ſucceeded. He aſſaulted them with repeated ſhocks; drove them to a narrow deſile, and diſpatched his huſſars to Gotha, who ſcarcely allowed the princes of Darmſtadt and Soubiſe time to eſcape; proving by this illuſtrious exploit, that from occaſions, on which mediocrity would be contented with palliating loſs, genius may derive profit and gain glory.

Movements preceding the battle of Roſbach in Thuringia.

Meanwhile, Frederick was informed, that general Haddick traverſed Luſatia in order to penetrate into Brandenburgh; that general was to be joined by the Auſtrians at Bautzen; and as prince Maurice was unable to reſiſt this combined army, the king purpoſed to bring him a reinforcement. He therefore left Erfurd, paſſed the Elbe at Torgau, and marched towards Annaberg, where he learned that the enemy had retired from Brandenburgh, after demanding from Berlin a contribution of 200,000 crowns. The departure of his Majeſty from Erfurd encouraged Mr. Soubiſe to paſs the Saale, and advance towards Leipſic. Mareſchal Keith, who commanded in that city, informed the king of the enemy's movement, and craved immediate aſſiſtance. With his ſmall army, Frederick haſtened to

Leipſic, where he was ſoon afterwards joined by prince Maurice and prince Ferdinand. The French and troops of the Circles had by this time arrived in the neighbourhood of Roſbach, and poſted themſelves on an eminence defended in front by a deep ravine, their right covered by a wood, and their left by a lake, which it was impoſſible to turn. The Pruſſians being too feeble to aſſault ſo formidable a poſt, the king led them off towards Braunſdorf; the French cannonading them without effect, yet ſounding their trumpets, playing their fifes, beating their drums, and making as clamorous demonſtrations of joy as if they had obtained an important victory.

Inſulting levity of the French.

This behaviour appeared very petulant to men who had never feared an enemy; and French vivacity was oppoſed by German phlegm. After various movements of both armies, the king contrived to cover his troops by a marſh, which beginning at Braunſdorf extends to the diſtance of 2000 ſteps from Roſbach. The enemy meanwhile approached, moving in a direction parallel to the Pruſſians, who carefully kept poſſeſſion

With a handful of men, Frederick defeats a great army at Roſbach, 4th November 1757.

poſſeſſion of an eminence on which they eſtabliſhed a battery, whoſe effects proved deciſive in the action. Mr. Seidlitz, who with his cavalry led the van, had orders to eſcape ſecretly by the hollows, in which the country abounded, and to turn the French cavalry in order to charge the head of their columns before they had time to form the line. The king could only leave with prince Ferdinand, who that day commanded on the right, the old horſe guards, who were formed, merely for ſhow, in one rank; a manœuvre the more judicious, as part of the marſh of Braunſdorf covered that wing. Mr. Seidlitz executing his orders with alacrity, attacked the Auſtrian horſe, which being abandoned by the French, were almoſt intirely deſtroyed. The infantry of the two armies were ſtill on their march, and the heads of their columns diſtant from each other about 500 paces. The king wiſhed to have reached the village of Reichardſwerben, but as he had ſtill 600 ſteps to march, and expected that the battle would be brought on every inſtant, he detached mareſchal Keith thither, and advanced in perſon within 200 ſteps of the enemy's front, which he found to be compoſed of battalions arranged alternately in column and in line. The prince of Soubiſe's right flank was quite unſupported; and as the king had not cavalry to turn it, he traverſed his left wing, as Cæſar had done at Pharſalia, with two battalions forming a crotchet or hook at its extremity. The French advancing to the attack, theſe battalions inſtantly wheeled half a circle to the right, which neceſſarily carried them on the enemy's flank. After this important movement, and at moſt three diſcharges from the regiment of Brunſwick, the enemy's infantry were ſeen precipitating themſelves towards the left, and their columns compreſſing between them the extended battalions with which they were intermixed. This maſſy line became continually cloſer, more heavy, and more confuſed; and in proportion as it haſtened towards the left, it was the more completely involved in the fire of the Pruſſian front. By their judicious diſpoſition, and the ſuperior effect of the Pruſſian cannon, a handful of men overcame a great army. Prince Ferdinand had never quitted the marſh of Braunſdorf; and during the action his men had never taken their firelocks from their ſhoulders. Their countenance only, and ſome vollies of cannon, ſufficed to diſperſe their adverſaries. Not more than ſeven Pruſſian battalions were engaged in this action, which, having begun at ſix o'clock in the evening, laſted an hour and a half, and coſt the French 10,000 men. In the purſuit, which was directed chiefly towards Eckartſberg, the king collected 7000 priſoners; many of whom were brought him by his own detachments, and many by the Thuringian peaſants, incenſed at the ſacrilegious inſults and indecent groſſneſs with which the French had treated their reformed religion and Lutheran churches.

Marches in queſt of new dangers to Sileſia, November 1757;

The remote conſequences of this engagement were important; but the only immediate benefit which the king derived from diſperſing the army in Thuringia, was that of being at leiſure to march in queſt of new dangers in Sileſia. The prince of Bevern, with fifty battalions and one hundred ſquadrons, had been appointed to command in that province, accompanied by Mr. Winterfeld, in whoſe zeal and abilities the king placed unlimited confidence. But that accompliſhed general and able negotiator was ſlain in raſhly aſſaulting the obſcure village of Holzberg; and from that moment the operations of the prince of Bevern were equally imprudent and unfortunate. Often defeated in the field, and driven from poſt to poſt before the army of prince Charles and mareſchal Daun, the Pruſſians had loſt almoſt all the towns in Sileſia, together with the important fortreſs of Schweidnitz, and at length Breſlaw the capital; places which the king, in the midſt of his greateſt misfortunes, had watched over with the utmoſt ſolicitude. The prince of Bevern himſelf had been made priſoner by the pandours; and the Sileſian troops, now commanded by Mr. Kyau, were ſo much dejected by repeated defeats, that they were ready to lay down their arms. The king received news of theſe overwhelming diſaſters, which, inſtead of lamenting, he haſtened to remedy, marching in twelve days near 200 miles from Leipſic to the Oder. At Lignitz, which the Auſtrians had fortified, he turned off to Parchwitz, and ſurpriſed a detachment

where the incapacity of the prince of Bevern had produced great misfortunes.

of the enemy, who were defeated with the loſs of 300 priſoners. Mr. Kyau's army, which had retired northwards to Glogau, joined his Majeſty's battalions the 2d of December at Parchwitz on the Oder.

Frederick reſtores the ſpirits of the army in that province.

Before any enterpriſe could be prudently undertaken with theſe combined forces, it was neceſſary to reſtore the courage of the Sileſian army. His Majeſty entertained the officers, recalled to their remembrance their moſt honourable exploits, and diſdained not the aſſiſtance of wine to refreſh their decayed ſpirits. He talked familiarly to the ſoldiers, diſtributed proviſions gratis, and exhauſted every reſource for reviving in his troops that confidence in themſelves, without which the hope of victory is vain. In two days their countenances brightened up; and, animated by the exhortations of their companions who had conquered at Roſbach, they longed for an opportunity to redeem their loſt renown.

Operations preparatory to the battle of

This opportunity, it was the king's duty to provide. He led them ſouthward to Neumarkt, where the enemy was forming

maga-

Leuthen, December 1757.

magazines and where mareſchal Daun was ſoon expected with his whole army. The eminence beyond Neumarkt afforded a poſt that might prove highly advantageous to either party; but to attain this advantage was not eaſy for the Pruſſians, whoſe cannon and infantry could not come up till the evening. His Majeſty, however, determining not to allow mareſchal Daun to encamp quietly before his face, made a virtue of neceſſity, and diſmounted his huſſars, who breaking open the gates of Neumarkt, were followed by ſome regiments of cavalry, who entered the town at full gallop. Eight hundred Cravates were taken, and the Pruſſians occupied the ground which the enemy's engineers had already marked out for their encampment. The king's infantry had ſcarcely arrived, when he learned that mareſchal Daun lay encamped beyond Liſſa, with his right covered by the village of Nypern, his left by the town of Galau, and the little river of Schweidnitz in his rear. His Majeſty rejoiced that the enemy thus furniſhed him with an opportunity of coming to an engagement, which he had determined on the firſt occaſion to embrace.

Frederick's diſpoſition and manœuvres, December 5, 1757;

On the 5th, the army marched at daybreak, preceded by ſixty ſquadrons and ten battalions, which Frederick commanded in perſon. As they approached the village of Born, they diſcovered a long line of cavalry, which was ſoon found to conſiſt of Saxon dragoons and Imperial huſſars. To play a ſafe game, his Majeſty's ſent ten battalions into a wood, which covered the left flank of theſe hoſtile ſquadrons, and having advanced ſpeedily to their rencounter, attacked them with ſuch vivacity that they were inſtantly diſſipated. They fled in ſcattered diſorder towards the main body of their army, with the loſs of five officers and 800 men. Theſe priſoners were immediately conducted to Neumarkt, along the Pruſſian columns, in order to animate the hopes of the ſoldiers by this example of ſucceſs. His Majeſty having recalled his huſſars, whoſe impetuoſity it was difficult to reſtrain, diſcerned the greater part of Daun's army ſo diſtinctly from the village of Frobelvitz, that he could have counted it man by marsh, the left, which he knew extended to Nypern, was concealed indeed by the wood of Liſſa; but in the right and centre, nothing eſcaped his view. Upon the firſt inſpection of theſe troops, and the ground which they occupied, Frederick perceived the neceſſity of directing his principal attack againſt the left wing, which occupied a riſing ground, commanding the whole plain. By gaining this poſition in the beginning of the action, his Majeſty might expect to maintain his ſuperiority through the ſucceeding ſcenes of the battle; whereas, by repelling any other part of the enemy's line, he would ſtill be obliged to make himſelf maſter of that riſing ground, before the battle could be decided. Chuſing therefore to perform firſt what, though difficult in itſelf, would render the reſt eaſy, he carefully concealed the movements of his battalions on the right behind a cloud of huſſars, whom he headed in perſon, while his orders directed the motions of the infantry, whoſe aſſault would prove the more terrible, becauſe totally unforeſeen.

which gain the deciſive battle of

The Pruſſian army did not exceed 33,000, and the Auſtrians amounted to 60,000.

Leuthen, December 5, 1757.

60,000. The diſpoſition and manœuvres of the king's troops coincided exactly with thoſe of the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas, in the battle of Leuctra. Their right, conducted by Mr. Wedel, prepared to turn and involve the enemy's left, while the reſt of the line, formed in an oblique order, gradually diverged in proportion as it extended; ſo that when the army was in march, the right extremity approached nearer to the enemy than the left, by 1000 paces. Mr. Daun, like the unfortunate Cleombrotus at Leuctra, miſtook the Pruſſian evolutions for a retreat, and ſaid to thoſe around him; "The enemy are flying, let them go." He was ſoon undeceived, when Mr. Wedel attacked and repelled his left, and planted on the eminence which it had occupied, a battery of cannon recently tranſported from the walls of Glogau. This important operation decided the battle of Leuthen, in which the Auſtrians loſt 307 officers, 21,000 ſoldiers, 134 pieces of cannon, and 59 pair of colours. Meſſrs. Ziethen and Fouquet purſued the vanquiſhed, towards Breſlaw, and made 2500 priſoners. Many of them took refuge in that place, and many more fled towards Bohemia.

Frederick recovers Breſlaw, December 6, 1757.

The king next day beſieged Breſlaw with 14,000 men; and on the 10th made priſoners of war an army of 17,635 ſoldiers, 686 officers, and thirteen generals. In the battle of Leuthen, the Pruſſians loſt only 2660 men, becauſe, after the firſt attack, their poſition alone enſured an eaſy and bloodleſs victory.

His dexterous negotiations remove 100,000 Ruſſians from Pruſſia, June and September 1755.

Amidſt the multiplied dangers which threatened him on all ſides during this campaign, Frederick was obliged to have recourſe to every expedient of war and policy; to fight and to negotiate by turns; ſometimes to ſoothe and ſometimes to intimidate. In the month of June, mareſchal Apraxin invaded Pruſſia with 100,000 Ruſſians, defeated mareſchal Lehwald, to whom his Majeſty had committed the defence of that kingdom; took Memel, and threatened Kænigſberg. The diſtance of ſix hundred miles rendered it impoſſible to reinforce the northern army, and the king was obliged to deviſe ſome other means by which he might

CHAP. III.

protect his valuable provinces on the Baltic. For this purpoſe he ſecretly entertained a correſpondence with the great duke of Ruſſia, who was not the leſs inclined to become his Majeſty's friend, that the empreſs Elizabeth was his declared enemy. In order to ingratiate himſelf with this prince, whoſe acceſſion to the throne he perceived to be at no great diſtance, the chancellor Beſtuchew changed his ſyſtem with regard to Pruſſian affairs, and ſent ſuch orders to mareſchal Apraxin, that inſtead of puſhing his advantages in Pruſſia, he retired towards the frontiers of Poland. Lehwald, who had loſt 1400 men in the battle of Jagernſdorf, followed him with 24,000, to Tilſit, where the Ruſſians paſſed the Niemen, and thenceforth diſappeared.

September.

Mareſchal Lehwald drives the Swedes from Pomerania, December 1757.

The influence which his Majeſty acquired over the grand duke of Ruſſia, having enabled him to diſpel the ſtorm that ravaged his nothern frontier, he ordered mareſchal Lehwald to march into Pomerania. In that province, the Swedes had taken Anclam, Demmin, and Peenamunde; and in their further progreſs had not any oppoſition to dread but that of fourteen battalions, compoſed chiefly of Pomeranian militia, who had voluntarily taken arms in defence of their king and country. Lehwald, punctually obſerving his orders, marched during the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and in the extremity of old age, 500 miles in queſt of the enemy. He ſpeedily diſlodged the Swedes from Anclam and Demmin, and puſhed them under the walls of Stralſund, where, not finding themſelves ſecure, they ſailed for refuge to the iſle of Rugen. The ſevere cold which enſued, froze the arm of the ſea between that iſland and Pomerania. Lehwald's great age probably hindered him from availing himſelf of this accident, to take or deſtroy the whole Swediſh army, which would have thenceforth delivered his Majeſty from an enemy not dangerous indeed, but troubleſome. The old mareſchal however had made 3000 priſoners; and a detachment which he ſent to beſiege the fort of Peenamunde took that place in the enſuing ſpring.

Frederick having taken Lignitz, and

The campagin which we have deſcribed, laſted long, and extended wide; its revolutions blocked up Schweidnitz, puts his troops into winter quarters, January 6, 1758.

tions were various, and its iſſue improbable. All, however, was not yet done; and one expedition remained, uſeful in itſelf, and preparatory to future ſucceſs. To retrieve as completely as poſſible his Majeſty's affairs in Sileſia, it was neceſſary to retake Lignitz, where the enemy had raiſed works and formed inundations. The cannon arrived, and the ſiege was undertaken at a ſeaſon when the ſpades and picks could hardly break the ground. But general Balow, whom mareſchal Daun had appointed governor, preferred the ſafety of his garriſon to the glory of an obſtinate defence. By capitulation, Balow and his troops were allowed a ſafe conduct to Bohemia. That Lignitz might never again ſerve as a place of arms to the Auſtrians, its ſluices were drained, and its works raſed. The whole cavalry of the army then formed the blockade of Schweidnitz, the ſiege of which was reſerved for the enſuing campaign; and the infantry entered into winter quarters the 6th of January; the king fixing his reſidence at Breſlaw, in order to ſee every thing with his own eyes, and to recruit the ſtrength and ſpirits of his troops, who had cheerfully undergone fatigues unexampled in modern hiſtory, and raiſed the glory of their king and country above the reach of envy and the power of fortune.

CHAP. IV.

Frederick's victories diſpoſe his enemies to peace. France rekindles the flame of diſcord. Negotiations with the Porte. Prince Ferdinand's campaign. Frederick takes Schweidnitz. Beſieges Olmutz. Barbarous ravages of the Ruſſians and Coſſacks. Frederick defeats them in the battle of Zorndorf. Surpriſed at Hochkirchen. Obliges the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege of Neiſſe, and Daun to retire from Dreſden. His ſucceſſes againſt the Swedes and Ruſſians. Domeſtic afflictions. Proceedings of the Pope and other eccleſiaſtical princes againſt Frederick. Battles of Minden and Gotfeld on the ſame day. Revolution in the court of France. Battle of Kunerſdorf. Frederick's winter campaign. Negotiations with Sardinia, Ruſſia, France, and Denmark. Campaign of 1760. *Frederick's ſtratagems. Marches to Sileſia between two Auſtrian armies. Battle of Lignitz. The Ruſſians invade Brandenburgh. Werner's dragoons repel the Swediſh* *fleet. Enormities committed by the Auſtrians and Ruſſians. They retire at Frederick's approach. Battle of Torgau.*

Frederick's victories humble the pride, and bend the obſtinacy of the court of Vienna, January 1758;

THE campaign of 1757 was diſtinguiſhed by a rapid ſucceſſion of improbable events, which kept the powers of Europe in agitation or ſuſpenſe; and time for recollection was required before they could embrace any deciſive reſolution. The pride of wounded ambition had armed the Houſe of Auſtria; and that paſſion, which inflames by indulgence, had cooled by oppoſition. A train of unexpected misfortunes diminiſhed the haughtineſs, and bent the obſtinacy, of the Imperial court; and as long as the impreſſion of calamity remained ſtrong and freſh, Maria Thereſa was not unwilling to accommodate her differences with the king in an amicable manner. The ſtyle of the chancery of Vienna became leſs arrogant; the language of the pedants of Ratiſbon grew leſs abuſive. At the deſire of the Empreſs Queen, Count Kaunitz appriſed his Majeſty of an imaginary conſpiracy formed againſt his life by two Neapolitans, and a citizen of Milan. The king thanked him and his miſtreſs for their friendly communication, remarking, however, that as there were two modes of aſſaſſination, one by the poignard and the other by calumny, that he ſet the firſt at defiance, but ſincerely deprecated the ſecond.

but France rekindles the flame of diſcord.

This tranſaction prevented not the renewal of the ſame ſcurrilous abuſe which had been ſo long heaped on Frederick, as ſoon as the intrigues of the French miniſtry, who, amidſt the misfortunes of their war with England, trembled at the intended defection of their German allies, had rekindled the animoſity, and revived the hopes of the Empreſs Queen. The diſgrace incurred in the affair of Roſbach, and indignation that the confederacy of the *two great powers* ſhould be defeated in all its enterpriſes by the petty prince, confirmed the bonds of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles. By their intrigues, the Empreſs of Ruſſia was prevailed on to diſgrace the chancellor Beſtuchew for the ſervices which he had rendered Pruſſia; the French faction reigned deſpotically in the ſenate of Stockholm; and ſuch was the effect of threats, promiſes, and profuſion, in the

Succeſſful intrigues of the French and Auſtrians in the courts of the North, January 1758.

the courts of the North, that the brilliant ſucceſs of the Pruſſians in the preceding campaign, inſtead of abating the ardour of their enemies, tended only to embitter their animoſity, to accelerate their preparations, and to render both more formidable than ever.

Frederick prepares for the campaign 1758.

During the winter, Frederick endeavoured to repair the effects of ſeven pitched battles, and the more deſtructive ravages of contagious maladies. His troops had been ſeized with an epidemic fever, accompanied by ſymptoms of the plague. From the firſt day, the patient was delirious; his neck and arm-pits were covered with carbuncles; and the progreſs of his diſtemper was ſo rapid, that in three days it hurried him to his grave. After trying other remedies in vain, the phyſicians had recourſe to tartar emetic, which operated ſo ſucceſsfully, that out of an hundred perſons who uſed it, not more than three died. Notwithſtanding the loſs of men, both in the hoſpitals and in the field, the Pruſſian regiments had recovered their full complement before the commencement of the ſpring;

but the recruits, conſiſting of ~~raw~~ peaſants, were to be exerciſed and diſciplined, and could not therefore perform any uſeful ſervice in the beginning of the campaign.

His un-ſucceſsful negotia-tion with the Porte.

His Majeſty, meanwhile, endeavoured to negotiate an alliance at the Porte; but Mr. Rexin, his ambaſſador there, could not even obtain the honour of an audience of the ſucceſſor of the Sultan Oſman; and in the various forms which this negotiation aſſumed, it will be eaſy to remark, how little the Turks are capable of following or underſtanding the maxims of ſound policy; a defect proceeding from their groſs ignorance of the affairs of Europe, their corruption and venality, and the abſurd principle of their government, which ſubjects the alternatives of peace and war to the deciſion of the mufti or high prieſt, without whoſe fetſa or mandate it is impoſſible to put in motion the troops of the Eaſt.

His ſubſidiary treaty with England, ſigned at

In England, his Majeſty's negotiations were more ſucceſsful. In the autumn of 1757, an important change had been effected in the Britiſh miniſtry. Mr. Fox, who

London, April 12, 1758.

who had been raiſed to the firſt office of power, by the intrigues of the duke of Cumberland, reſigned; and his place was beſtowed by George II. on Mr. Pitt, whoſe lofty genius and indefatigable induſtry juſtly entitled him to that exalted ſtation. The duke's convention at Cloſterſeven, that great ſtateſman conſidered as the reproach of England; and the firſt exertions of his miniſtry tended to aboliſh even the remembrance of a tranſaction ſo infamous. He perſuaded the Britiſh monarch to requeſt the aſſiſtance of prince Ferdinand from the king of Pruſſia, and to ſet that accompliſhed general at the head of the allied army. By the advice of Mr. Pitt, George II. likewiſe renewed his treaties with Frederick, and with ſeveral other princes of Germany; ſtipulating to pay to Pruſſia an annual ſubſidy of 4,000,000 of crowns; a condition repugnant indeed to Frederick's maxims, but which his preſent exigencies rendered indiſpenſable; and in which (except a reinforcement of 12,000 Engliſh that joined the allies on the 14th Auguſt 1758), conſiſted the only advantage which he could derive from Great Britain, that kingdom abſolutely refuſing to ſend a fleet to the Baltic.

Plan of prince Ferdinand's campaign in March 1758.

The campaign of 1758 was opened by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who having penetrated by ſecret roads to Staden, collected a body of 30,000 men, whom the French had left in that neighbourhood, and had unaccountably neglected to diſarm. His taſk was not eaſy, to drive 80,000 Frenchmen from Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia, with 30,000 Hanoverians, who three months before had been prepared to lay down their arms and to ſign a diſgraceful treaty. The plan of his operations, which he concerted with Frederick, was to hinder the French from deſtroying the capitals of Brunſwick and Hanover, and to compel them to evacuate thoſe provinces through the terror of being interrupted in their communication with the Rhine. For theſe purpoſes, he ſent two detachments to the Weſer, one of which gained poſſeſſion of Verden, and the other marched on both ſides the river towards Hoya, under the command, of his nephew the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who made himſelf maſter of that important poſt by his ſkill and valour.

His ſkilful marches and manœuvres diſconcert the French generals.

Meanwhile prince Ferdinand paſſed the Aller; and prince Henry of Pruſſia, who had remained in Saxony to be cured of a wound received in the battle of Roſbach, advanced towards Brunſwick, with a detachment which the king had ordered to co-operate with the allies. Theſe various and well-adjuſted movements totally diſconcerted the French generals. Mr. de St. Germain retired from Bremen into Weſtphalia, and Mr. Clermont, who had ſucceeded the duke of Richelieu, evacuated Brunſwick, Wolfenbottel, and Hanover. Prince Ferdinand marched ſtraight to Minden, and being there joined by his detachments, beſieged and took that place in ſight of the enemy. The allies proceeded to Bielefeld, and count Clermont, aſtoniſhed at finding himſelf without any ſecure footing in Germany, evacuated Hamm and Munſter, repaſſed the Rhine at Weſel, and cantoned his army on the weſtern bank of that river. After this ſucceſsful expedition of marches and manœuvres,

April 1758.

May.

in

in which prince Ferdinand had already taken 11,000 priſoners, he allowed his fatigued troops a ſhort repoſe in the neighbourhood of Munſter, but ſoon paſſed the Rhine near Emmerith, ſurpriſed a French detachment in its quarters at Cleves, and advanced to attack count Clermont encamped at Crefeld. By turning the left flank of the French, while his nephew haraſſed their rear, and Mr. Wangenheim threatened their front, prince Ferdinand gained a deciſive victory. The enemy retired to Nuys, Weringen, and at length to Cologn; thus leaving the conqueror at full liberty to avail himſelf of his ſucceſs, by detaching the hereditary prince to take Ruremonde, and carry terror to the gates of Bruſſels, while Mr. Wangenheim beſieged Duſſeldorp, and, together with that town, ſeized the French magazines which it contained.

June.

And drive them with great loſs from Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia.

Mr. de Clermont's operations were little calculated to ſatisfy his employers. He was ſucceeded by Mr. de Contades, who endeavoured to reſtore the confidence of the French troops by advancing to occupy the poſt of Brugen, at the ſame time that Mr. Chevert, who commanded a numerous garriſon at Weſel, made a ſally from that place, to ſurpriſe Mr. Imhof, who guarded the bridge at Emmerith. But Imhof, appriſed of his deſign, placed himſelf in ambuſh with his whole force in the road which Chevert had to paſs, put him to the rout, and took many of his men priſoners. Theſe multiplied diſaſters would have deterred the French from repaſſing the Rhine, and have led to the taking of Weſel before the end of the campaign, had not the prince of Soubiſe, July. with the inglorious remains of the battle of Roſbach, and a reinforcement of 15,000 Wirtenbergers, invaded Heſſia and Lower Saxony. Having defeated the prince of Yſenbourg at Sangerhauſen, whom prince Ferdinand had left to defend thoſe countries with 7000 men, Soubiſe made himſelf maſter of Munden, Gottingen, and Caſſel. This obliged prince Ferdinand to repaſs the Rhine. October. By his judicious and well-combined movements, he defended the ground which he had already gained, againſt the army of Mr. Contades, while his detachments, which acted on the offenſive, completely re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of their allies in Lower Saxony and Heſſia. Towards the end of the campaign, the French were maſters of Marbourgh alone. The hereditary prince was ſent to diſlodge them, and accompliſhed his deſign in a few days. The army of Mr. de Soubiſe then retreated towards Weſel, and entered into winter quarters on the weſtern bank of the Rhine; leaving the allies in quiet poſſeſſion of Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony.

November 2, 1758.

Frederick takes Schweidnitz, April 15, 1758.

During prince Ferdinand's illuſtrious campaign in the weſtern provinces, his Pruſſian Majeſty had been employed in the eaſt against the Auſtrians, endeavouring to avail himſelf to the utmoſt of his victory at Leuthen. The Pruſſians had already occupied Troppau and Jagerndorf; and the Auſtrians were chaſed from every part of Sileſia except the important fortreſs of Schweidnitz, which was cloſely blocked up. With the return of ſpring, the blockade was converted into a ſiege; and the trenches being opened the 2d of April, the moſt important works were gained on the 15th by aſſault; on which day count Thierhaimb ſurrendered himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war. They conſiſted of 5000 men, who were diſperſed among the different fortreſſes of Sileſia and Brandenburgh.

Invades Moravia and lays ſiege to Olmutz, May 1758.

The king meanwhile had commanded an army of obſervation, which extended from Landſhut to Friedland, to watch the motions of count Daun, who ſtill maintained his quarters between Kænigſgraetz and Jaromirs. His Majeſty's deſign was to invade Moravia, and to make himſelf maſter of Olmutz, not indeed with a view to keep that place, but to give employment to the Auſtrians on that diſtant frontier, in order to gain time for oppoſing the Ruſſians, who deſolated Pruſſia. His detachments under Meſſrs. Ziethen and Fouquet ſo ſucceſſfully maſked his deſigns, that the Pruſſian army, divided into two columns, reſpectively commanded by the king and mareſchal Keith, advanced without encountering any oppoſition into the plain of Olmutz. The trenches were opened on the 27th of May, and ſuch diſpoſitions were made as ſeemed moſt proper for taking the place and for keeping the enemy at a diſtance.

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That enterpriſe unſucceſsful, and why.

The enterpriſe however was unſucceſsful, becauſe, by opening the trenches too remote from the town, much time and ammunition were uſeleſsly ſpent; and count Daun, who now encamped between Proſtnitz and Wiſchau, thus gained an opportunity of intercepting a great convoy from Sileſia, the loſs of which rendered it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege. The enemy having prepared to haraſs the march of the Pruſſians into Upper Sileſia, the king retreated towards Bohemia, preparing for greater deſigns; and mareſchal Keith, by his ſkill and vigilance, conducted ſucceſsfully to Kænigſgraetz 1500 ſick and wounded, as well as the whole ſtores and artillery belonging to the royal army.

June.

July.

Barbarous ravages committed by the Ruſſians and Coſſacks in Brandenburgh, July 1758.

Had the Auſtrians been his only enemies in this memorable war, Frederick might have remained in Bohemia until the ſeaſon for entering into winter quarters; but humanity obliged him to oppoſe the ravages of the Ruſſians and Coſſacks in Brandenburgh, the former of whom under M. Fermor had bombarded Kuſtrin, and laid that city in aſhes; and the latter, accompanying the armies under Czernichef and Romanzow, covered the villages with deſolation. In reſiſting theſe barbarities, the king wiſhed to employ only three weeks, leſt, during his abſence, Daun might turn his arms towards Sileſia or Saxony, to one or other of which provinces it would be requiſite to conduct a ſeaſonable reinforcement. The great body of the army, his Majeſty left under the command of mareſchal Keith at Landſhut, and haſtened in perſon to Frankfort on the Oder, to join count Dohna, whoſe feeble detachment had been unable to reſiſt the enemy. By his rapid and ſkilful manœuvres, he compelled the Ruſſians to raiſe the ſiege of Kuſtrin, and ſeizing the intermediate poſition of Zorndorf, completely interrupted the communication between the armies of Fermor and Romanzow. The former, who had been joined by Czernichef, was poſted between the villages of Quartſchen and Zicker, and his troops were encamped in the form of a ſquare, according to the venerable practice which had been followed by mareſchal Munich in his war againſt the Turks in Little Tartary. The time preſſed; it was neceſſary

Frederick marches to oppoſe them.

Auguſt.

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ceſſary to come to a deciſion; and the ſingular diſpoſition of the enemy afforded good hope of ſucceſs. The Coſſacks had ſet fire to Zorndorf, a perplexing circumſtance, as the artillery was to be tranſported acroſs that place. This difficulty however was overcome by the perſevering exertions of the Pruſſians.

Defeats them in the battle of Zorndorf, Auguſt 25, 1758.

The battle began at nine in the forenoon, and continued till near nine in the evening, about which time the enemy retreated into the wood of Tamſel. They loſt 103 cannons, 27 ſtandards, 82 officers, 2000 priſoners; and, as the artillery played with ſure effect againſt their thick maſs, they left at leaſt 15,000 men dead on the field. The loſs on the Pruſſian ſide amounted to 1200 men, and 60 officers killed or wounded. The event of this battle obliged Romanzow to quit the neighbourhood of Stargard in order to join Fermor. They retired together to Landſberg, the king having purſued them to Blumſberg, where count Dohna was left to oppoſe an enemy diminiſhed in ſtrength and dejected by defeat.

Frederick marches to defend his brother in Luſatia, October 1758.

The urgency of his affairs allowed not Frederick to puſh his advantages againſt the Ruſſians, but obliged him to haſten from the Oder to the Elbe, in order to aſſiſt his brother prince Henry, who was in danger of being overwhelmed by the power of numbers in Saxony. To the troops of the Circles commanded by the prince of Deux-ponts, and the Auſtrians, by general Haddick, mareſchal Daun had already joined his great army, after detaching 20,000 men under general Harſch to form the ſiege of Neiſſe. The king left Mr. Fouquet to guard the gorges of Bohemia, and being joined by mareſchal Keith marched with great expedition to the defence of his brother. After various ſkilful movements, by which the Pruſſians cut off ſeveral Auſtrian detachments, both armies encamped in Luſatia, mareſchal Daun on the heights between Kerlitz and Stremberg, his reſerve, under the prince of Durlach, extending to Debertſchutz; and the king, near the village of Hochkirchen, his head quarters at Radewitz. His Majeſty's deſign was to attack the prince of Durlach, which he could not ſafely attempt till the 15th, when he expected his convoy of proviſions.

The Pruſſians ſurpriſed at Hochkirchen in Luſatia by mareſchal Daun, October 13, 14.

But mareſchal Daun did not allow him time to execute his project. Mr. Laudohn had taken poſſeſſion of a wood at a mile's diſtance from the village of Hochkirchen, towards which Daun had ſecretly prepared roads for the march of four columns. In the night of the 13th, he attacked the king's army in four different points, ſet fire to the village of Hochkirchen, which was ſituate on an eminence, and ſeized the great battery erected there, which he pointed with conſiderable effect againſt the Pruſſian camp. The ſoldiers had only time to ſeize their arms, not to ſtrike their tents. The darkneſs was complete, but occaſionally brightened by the flames of the burning village. Though thus ſurpriſed, the Pruſſians defended themſelves vigorouſly againſt ſuperior numbers. The king endeavoured to turn the village of Hochkirchen, and having encountered a body of Auſtrians, made 300 priſoners. Mareſchal Keith and prince Maurice of Anhalt attempted to recover the battery of which the enemy had made themſelves maſters. But having to paſs a narrow lane, in which hardly ſeven men could march abreaſt, they were attacked and repelled at the outlet by a front far more extenſive than their own. Mareſchal Keith was ſlain, prince Maurice was wounded dangerouſly, and general Geiſt mortally. In another ſcene of this nocturnal engagement, prince Francis of Brunſwick had fallen. The king as well as all his generals had received wounds or contuſions. To paſs the village was impoſſible, the conflagration was too violent, and the battle irrecoverably loſt. Mr. Retzow, who had thrice repelled the prince of Durlach, was ordered to join his Majeſty in order to cover the retreat, which being effected without loſs, the army encamped at Bautzen. In the action the Pruſſians loſt 3000 men, but made 700 of the enemy priſoners. Mareſchal Daun returned to his former camp, and kept his troops as cloſely entrenched as if he had not gained a victory.

Frederick marches to Sileſia, and

Before the battle of Hochkirchen, his Majeſty had been obliged to detach Mr.

Wedel with ſix battalions and a proportional body of cavalry to reſiſt the Swedes in Pomerania. His misfortunes in that battle did not hinder him from ſending another detachment to oblige the Ruſſians to raiſe the ſiege of Colberg, and to march in perſon to Sileſia to repel Mr. Harſch from the walls of Neiſſe. That general, though ſtrongly reinforced by count Daun, raiſed the ſiege on the firſt news of his Majeſty's approach, and in his retreat was attacked by a ſally from the town, in which he loſt 800 men. He abandoned likewiſe his magazines, and retired with great expedition by Ziegenhals to Jagerndorf.

obliges the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege of Neiſſe, November.

This expedition was no ſooner ended than his Majeſty returned to Saxony, and obliged count Daun to retire from Dreſden and Pirna, while his detachments frightened the troops of the Circles from Torgau and Leipſic, which places they had begun to inveſt. The Ruſſians meanwhile were baffled in their attempt to take Colberg, by the ſkill and perſeverance of its governor Mr. Heyden, and the activity of Mr. Platen, who was ſent to his aſſiſtance. The Swedes,

From thence marches to Saxony, and obliges Daun to retire from the neighbourhood of Dreſden.

once ſo formidable, but whoſe prowess now conſiſted in ravaging the open country, when they had not any oppoſition to encounter, were reduced by a feeble detachment under Mr. Wedel to act on the defenſive; and inſtead of attempting conqueſts, thought themſelves happy in being allowed to retire into winter quarters under the walls of Stralſund. The advanced ſeaſon likewiſe compelled the Auſtrians and Pruſſians to ſuſpend their hoſtilities. Daun retired into Bohemia. The king obſerved with a watchful eye the frontier of that province, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Breſlaw.

Succeſſes of the Pruſſians againſt the Ruſſians and Swedes, December 1758.

The domeſtic afflictions of Frederick.

The fortune of the war was not much affected by the events of the winter, which had been diſtinguiſhed by the deaths of illuſtrious perſonages, among whom were the prince royal of Pruſſia, whoſe amiable diſpoſition and virtuous character promiſed a happy reign; and the marchioneſs of Bareith, the king's favourite ſiſter. She was (his Majeſty obſerves) a princeſs of the moſt exalted merit; an underſtanding cultivated by ſtudy and reflection, with a genius fitted for every ſituation, and a ſingular

His characters of the marchioneſs of Bareith.

ſingular talent for all the arts. Yet theſe happy endowments formed the leaſt valuable part of her character. Her goodneſs of heart, her generous and beneficent diſpoſition, were blended with ſingular elevation of ſoul and ineffable ſweetneſs of temper. The moſt ſincere and tender friendſhip united the king and this reſpectable ſiſter. The attachment had grown from their earlieſt years; time had knit them more faſtly together; fidelity, the moſt inviolable on both ſides, rendered the tie indiſſoluble. The dangers which threatened her family preyed on her conſtitution, naturally delicate. She died the 14th of October 1758, the ſame day on which her brother was defeated by the Auſtrians at Hochkirchen; a day which (his Majeſty obſerves) "the Romans would have marked with black, on account of the multiplied diſaſters which it produced. But in this enlightened age, men have recovered from the illuſion of lucky and unlucky days. They know that their lives hang by a ſlender thread; that the loſs or gain of a battle often depends on a trifle; and that our deſtinies are involved in the general chain of ſecondary cauſes,

which

which amidſt the variety of events that they produce, muſt ſometimes gladden us with joy, and ſometimes ſadden us with ſorrow."

and of the queen dowager,

Such are the reflections of his Majeſty, though the events of his life might on this head have inclined him to ſuperſtition. In the preceding year, immediately after his defeat at Kolin, which had well nigh ruined his affairs, he received the melancholy news of the death of the queen dowager, whom he had ever venerated as a moſt tender and reſpectable mother. "Her death," he ſays, "was not accompanied by a mourning of mere ceremony; it was felt as a public calamity. The grandees of the kingdom regretted her eaſy and gracious behaviour; perſons of inferior condition, her winning affability; the poor, their refuge; the unhappy, their beſt reſource; men of letters, their protectreſs; and thoſe of her own family, who appertained to her more nearly, felt, in loſing her, that they loſt a part of themſelves, and were more deeply wounded than ſhe was, by the ſtroke that deſtroyed her." Such are the which diſplay the excellence of his own.

affectionate ſentiments of a king trained in camps, familiariſed with bloodſhed, and haraſſed by the unrelenting perſecution of enemies as formidable as they were implacable.

Proceedings of the Pope and the eccleſiaſtical princes of Germany againſt Frederick.

The winter 1758 likewiſe proved fatal to Benedict XIV., the moſt liberal and enlightened pontiff that ever ſat in the chair of St. Peter. The Auſtrian and French factions appointed as his ſucceſſor, the Venetian Rezzonico, who aſſumed the title of Clement XIII. Among the firſt meaſures adopted by the new Pope, was the ſending a conſecrated ſword to mareſchal Daun, for having beat the king at Hochkirchen, although preſents of that kind, even according to the maxims of the court of Rome, ought to be made only to ſuch generals as have fought againſt infidels. The irregular ſeverity of the father of the catholic world was imitated by the eccleſiaſtical princes of Germany. The elector of Cologn, in particular, publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under very ſevere penalties, his proteſtant ſubjects to rejoice at the Pruſſian victories.

Revolutions in the court of France, 1759;

Theſe petty proceedings of petty courts excited only ridicule or contempt; while the paſſions which agitated the great courts of Europe, were preparing events the moſt tragical. At Verſailles, the Abbé Bernis had been appointed miniſter of foreign affairs, and ſoon after created a cardinal, for his ſervices towards concluding the treaty of Vienna. Until his fortune was eſtabliſhed, Bernis had not been very ſcrupulous about the means of riſing to dignity; but being once ſettled in office, he was inclined to regulate his conduct by principles conformable to the public intereſt. France, he perceived, ſhared the burden, without any proſpect of ſharing even the eventual advantages of the war. He therefore ſeriouſly wiſhed for peace; and in order to obtain it, applied ſecretly to England. But the marchioneſs of Pompadour, who had adopted a different ſyſtem, diſcovered and thwarted his meaſures. He was diſgraced and exiled to his biſhopric of Aix; and as his folly had raiſed him to greatneſs, ſo his wiſdom again reduced him to nothing. He was replaced by Mr. de Choiſeul, a native of Lorraine, ambaſſador from France to Vienna, and ſon of Mr. de Stainville, the Emperor's ambaſſador at Paris.

which prove favourable to the Houſe of Auſtria, 1759.

From his parentage and connections, it is not ſurpriſing that Choiſeul ſhould begin his adminiſtration by entering into a new and more intimate treaty with the Houſe of Auſtria; a treaty which he ordered the academy of inſcriptions to commemorate by a medal. The allied courts continued their intrigues at St. Peterſburgh; and prevailed on the Empreſs, by gaining her favourite Shuvalow, to make vigorous preparations for wiping off the diſgrace ſuſtained by her troops in the battle of Zorndorf. The king of Poland concurred with all theſe meaſures; and ſuch was his influence with Elizabeth, that ſhe procured him the dutchy of Courland for his third ſon, prince Charles; an eſtabliſhment of which the impetuoſity of his own temper, and the reſentment of the great duke, which he had juſtly provoked, afterwards deprived that headſtrong prince. The Pruſſian negotiations at the Porte were not more ſucceſsful than formerly; becauſe, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the bribes tendered by Frederick's emiſſaries, the Auſtrians and French bribed with equal profuſion; and the Turks preferred the money given them as the reward of inactivity, to that which was offered them as an incitement to take arms. During this year, the naval enterpriſes of the Engliſh reflected luſtre on their allies, and intimidated their enemies. The Empreſs Elizabeth, fearful leſt they ſhould ſend a fleet to the Baltic, and deſtroy the harbour of Cronſchlott, negotiated a treaty with Sweden and Denmark, to prohibit foreign veſſels from paſſing the Sound. The ſubſidies granted by France to Denmark forwarded the concluſion of this alliance; which gave little umbrage to the Engliſh, who diſdained the Baltic and the Sound, while they reigned ſovereigns of the ocean.

Prince Ferdinand's campaign on the Weſer, July and Auguſt 1759.

The time neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing his army, and diſciplining his raw recruits, prevented the king of Pruſſia from taking the field early in the year 1759. He remained in Sileſia, watching the Auſtrians on one ſide, and the Ruſſians on the other. Prince Ferdinand opened the campaign againſt the French, commanded by Meſſrs. de Contades and Broglio, whoſe head quarters were at Frankfort. The firſt operations of both armies were confined to the deſtroying of magazines, the intercepting of detachments, and the occupying of poſts. Towards the end of July, Mr. de Contades encamped with the main diviſion of his forces near to Minden, on the left ſide of the Weſer, while Mr. de Broglio occupied the right. Prince Ferdinand, who had remounted the river, in order to diſcover and traverſe their deſigns, found their army too ſtrongly poſted to hazard an attack. He therefore ſeized the ground between Hille and Friedland, fortified the village of Tonhauſen, and detached the hereditary prince to Gohfeld to haraſs the rear of the enemy. Mr. de Contades began to act preciſely as prince Ferdinand would have directed him. Being joined by Mr. de Broglio, he prepared to march acroſs a marſh which covered the allied army, and at length attacked that army on the firſt of Auguſt.

Battle of Minden, Auguſt 1, 1759.

Prince Ferdinand had taken the precaution to open the roads, and to prepare his communications in ſuch a manner, that while his enemies aſſaulted Tonhauſen, he could without obſtacle aſſault *them*. His victory was much owing to the ſpirit and perſeverance of the Engliſh infantry, who having put the French horſe to the rout, afterwards reſiſted their foot, and allowed leiſure for prince Ferdinand to advance ſeaſonably with freſh brigades. The village of Tonhauſen was feebly aſſaulted by Mr. de Broglio, his ſquadrons were twice repulſed, and the infantry began on all ſides to retire in confuſion. The ſame day, the hereditary prince defeated the duke of Briſſac, whom he had found at Gohfeld, with 6000 men; an event as deciſive as the battle of Minden itſelf, becauſe it obliged the enemy to repaſs the Weſer, and retreat to Caſſel. The French loſt 6000 men in that battle, of whom 3000 were made priſoners. The ſurrender of Minden was the immediate conſequence of the victory, of which prince Ferdinand availed himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully, that, at the end of the campaign, the French, now commanded by Mr. de Broglio (for

Battle of Gohfeld, on the ſame day.

The French deprived of all their conqueſts in Germany.

Contades had been recalled with diſgrace), were obliged to retire to Frankfort, and to leave the allies in quiet poſſeſſion of every province and every town which belonged to them at the declaration of war.

Frederick reduced to great difficulties by the diſagreement among his generals, and their defeat at Kay, June 23, 1759.

The king's operations during this ſeaſon were far leſs proſperous, or rather were ſo exceedingly unfortunate, that the Pruſſians muſt have been undone, had not their enemies, who had learned how to conquer, remained as yet ignorant how to profit of their victories. Poſted in Sileſia between two great armies, the king, in the beginning of the campaign, had intercepted ſeveral of their detachments, and deſtroyed ſeveral of their magazines. His main purpoſe was to prevent the junction of the Auſtrians and Ruſſians; and, as it was obſerved that the latter traverſed Poland in diviſions, his Majeſty detached count Dohna, with Meſſrs. Hulſen and Itzemplitz, to attack their enemies ſucceſſively, hoping that their ſuperior activity would have enabled them to defeat one diviſion before it could be ſupported by another. But the ſlowneſs and diſſenſions of theſe generals produced effects totally different from thoſe which his Majeſty had expected; and the diſorders, which prevailed in the eaſtern army, proved the ſource of the calamities which overwhelmed the Pruſſians in this diſaſtrous campaign. The king ſent Mr. Wedel to command that army as dictator, though younger in ſervice, and inferior in rank, to thoſe whom he was appointed to control. He was defeated at Kay, near Croſſen on the Oder, with the loſs of more than 4000 men. This miſfortune totally diſconcerted the king's meaſures. Kuſtrin and Frankfort on the Oder were expoſed to immediate danger by the poſition of the Ruſſians under Soltikow at Croſſen; and if theſe places were taken, Berlin, that capital without defence, muſt have ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons.

June 23.

It was hazardous to weaken the Sileſian army, already too feeble. Mr. de Fouquet defended the gorges of Landſhut againſt Mr. de Ville; he commanded 10,000 men; the Auſtrian, 20,000. The king's army was 40,000 ſtrong; mareſchal Daun's, 70,000. Yet new forces were required to defend Brandenburgh and the capital. For this purpoſe,

His meaſures for oppoſing the Auſtrians and Ruſſians.

CHAP. IV.

poſe, his Majeſty, conſidering that the enemy would be diſpoſed to deal tenderly with Dreſden, which was ſtill the reſidence of the family of the king of Poland, determined to withdraw prince Henry's detachment from Saxony. That prince, having conducted forty ſquadrons and twenty-two battalions to Sagan, joined the king at Schmuckſeiffen, and was appointed to command the royal army, as the only perſon to whom it could with ſafety be entruſted. His Majeſty on the other hand haſtened northward, and took the command of the forces aſſembled at Sagan for the defence of his hereditary dominions.

Is defeated by the Ruſſians at Kunerſdorf, Auguſt 12, 1759.

The Ruſſians, encouraged by ſucceſs, and now reinforced by the Auſtrians under mareſchal Laudohn, encamped at Kunerſdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder. It was neceſſary to attack them ſpeedily, becauſe the events, which had happened in Saxony ſince the departure of the army, required his Majeſty's preſence in that electorate. The firſt operations of the Pruſſians were ſucceſsful; and the battle muſt have been won by their proweſs, had not general Laudohn anticipated them by 150 ſteps, in their attempt to ſeize a

Ruſſian battery, which commanded the whole plain. This fire being again turned againſt them, they were thrown into confuſion. His Majeſty retired the laſt man, and muſt have been taken priſoner, had not 100 huſſars haſtened to his relief. So uncertain and fluctuating a quality is courage in the minds of ſoldiers, that the ſame troops who had often defied the ardour of the French and the perſeverance of the Germans, now trembled at the name of the Coſſacks; and having learned that a body of theſe barbarians occupied the ground of their camp, fled above the diſtance of a mile, before their commanders could rally them. The Ruſſians doubtleſs gained this battle; but by their own confeſſion, it coſt them 24,000 men. The Pruſſians loſt 10,000 killed, wounded, or taken. The king, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of victory, had given orders to Mr. Wunſch to occupy Frankfort, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat. That brave officer made himſelf maſter of the place, in which he took 400 priſoners. But the unexpected iſſue of the battle obliged him to abandon his conqueſt, and to return to Reitwein, where the whole army encamped after paſſing the Oder.

Jealouſies between the Ruſſians and Auſtrians.

The king could hardly aſſemble 10,000 men on the evening of the day of battle. Next day they amounted ~~to~~ 18,000; and a few days after to 28,000. Had his enemies been more active, they might have given the finiſhing ſtroke to his bad fortune. But to count Daun, who preſſed the Ruſſians to act, Mr. Soltikow wrote, "I have done enough this year, having won two battles, which together coſt my country 27,000 men; I muſt now wait until you have gained two ſuch victories; it is not fair that the troops of my ſovereign ſhould ſuſtain the whole brunt of the war."

Multiplied diſaſters of the Pruſſians repaired by Mr. Fouquet and prince Henry.

Notwithſtanding theſe jealouſies between their enemies, the affairs of the Pruſſians ſtill appeared deſperate. Mareſchal Daun advanced; the troops of the Circles had taken Torgau and Wittenberg; and Mr. Schmettau had given away Dreſden, ſince he ſurrendered that city, before any breach was effected, and even before the trenches were opened. His Majeſty had embraced the reſolution of defending Berlin againſt every aſſailant, or of periſhing with arms in his hands. The firſt ray of hope broke from Sileſia, where Mr. Fouquet having repelled Mr. de Ville, took 1300 priſoners, and drove the enemy to Braunau in Bohemia. Meanwhile the addreſs and celerity of prince Henry in deſtroying Daun's magazines, compelled that general, with whoſe ſuperior ſtrength the prince could not prudently contend in battle, to retreat to Bautzen in Luſatia.

October and November.

Theſe ſkilful and ſpirited operations were followed by a long train of happy incidents, which, though ſingly ſmall, amounted together to a great ſum of ſucceſs. The king having defended Sileſia and Brandenburgh againſt Soltikow and Laudohn, marched into Saxony, where his affairs had ſuffered much by the defeat of general Finck at Maxen, who being ſurrounded by mareſchal Daun, commanded thirty-five ſquadrons and ſixteen battalions to lay down their arms. This misfortune hindered the total expulſion of the enemy from Saxony, an object which the king was ſo deſirous to effect,

During the rigour of winter, Frederick reſiſts all his enemies, December 1759; January 1760.

effect, and count Daun ſo ſolicitous to prevent, that both armies remained encamped during winter, the Pruſſians at Zwickau, and the Auſtrians at Plauen, the firſt example perhaps in modern times of two great armies keeping the field ſo near to each other in ſuch a rigorous ſeaſon. The recal of the Pruſſian detachment from Pomerania afforded the Swedes an opportunity of taking Peenemunde; and this place, together with Dreſden, formed the only ground, which, amidſt all his diſaſters, the king had loſt at the end of the campaign. His army in Saxony extended from Zwickau to Wilſdruf; Mr. de Fouquet was poſted at Landſhut to defend Sileſia; and a great body of cavalry at Coſſdorf covered Torgau and the electorate of Brandenburgh.

The death of Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, 1759.

Amidſt the rigours of this winter's campaign, an event paſſed unregarded, which at any other period would have afforded matter of much ſpeculation. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, France, Auſtria, and England had ſtipulated that when Don Carlos ſhould ſucceed to his brother the king of Spain, the youngeſt brother Don Philip duke of Parma, ſhould obtain the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchy of Parma ſhould revert to the Houſe of Auſtria. The king of Spain died without iſſue; Don Carlos ſucceeded to that kingdom; and regardleſs of the treaty of Aix, againſt which he had formally proteſted, regulated the ſucceſſion to Naples according to his own fancy. His eldeſt ſon was judged incapable of inheritance on account of his mental imbecility; the ſecond was declared prince of Aſturias; and the third, king of Naples. Don Philip therefore retained poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, and the Empreſs Queen was diſappointed in her expectation of enjoying theſe diſtricts. Many wars have ariſen in Europe from cauſes leſs valid. But the conteſt in which ſhe had engaged with ſuch implacable animoſity, reſtrained Maria Thereſa from breaking with her French allies, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe hoped to recover Sileſia, a province far more important than the dutchies of Parma and Placentia.

The Empreſs Queen, ſolicitous to recover Sileſia, waves her claim to Parma and Placentia.

Frederick was duly attentive to theſe revolutions in Italy, becauſe a diverſion in Lom-

Frederick negotiates with the

king of Sardinia, 1760;

Lombardy might have afforded him much relief. By means of his aid de camp, Cocceji, he ſounded the king of Sardinia, but found that aged prince totally devoted to ſuperſtition, and intirely diveſted of that paſſion for war which had diſtinguiſhed his youth. Since the confederacy between France and Auſtria, his Sardinian majeſty was deſtitute of allies, and by taking arms in defence of Pruſſia, he would have been obliged to contend with Auſtrians, French, and Spaniards, as well as with the ſubjects of Naples and Parma.

with Ruſſia and France.

As foreign aſſiſtance could not be obtained, and the war continually became more burdenſome, his Majeſty attempted to ſet on foot a negotiation both in France and Ruſſia, with a view of detaching either the one or the other of theſe powers from the intereſt of the Houſe of Auſtria. England, notwithſtanding her rapid ſeries of naval and military ſucceſs, condeſcended to enter into the ſame pacific views. But all that could be obtained from the enemy was the offer of diſcuſſing their reſpective claims in a congreſs to be held at Augſburgh.

This

Such a congreſs the king foreſaw might continue as long as that of Munſter, which laſted ſix years, and therefore could not anſwer the purpoſe of a man who wiſhed a ſpeedy end to his troubles.

Edelſheim employed as his ſecret agent at the court of Verſailles;

This conſideration made him apply ſecretly to France, by means of a young man, named Edelſheim, who being totally unknown at Verſailles, could not excite any ſuſpicion at that court. Edelſheim was told that the ſucceſs of his negotiation would depend on the facility of accommodating matters between France and England; but that, as it was underſtood his Pruſſian Majeſty propoſed indemnifying the king of Poland, by ſeculariſing the eccleſiaſtical principalities of Germany, the moſt Chriſtian king would never give his conſent to any ſuch meaſure. To the propoſals of George II. which required as a fundamental article the entire preſervation of the king of Pruſſia, France anſwered, That ſhe was extremely ready to ſettle her differences with England, but that not having been engaged directly in a war with Pruſſia, ſhe could not confound the affairs of that

country

country with the intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty. Mr. Edelſheim, meanwhile, had travelled to Saxony to communicate his anſwer to the king; from thence he repaired to England to impart it to the Britiſh miniſtry; and then purpoſing to return to Germany, took Paris in his way, and went with as little diſguiſe as formerly, to the houſe of the Malteſe ambaſſador, the Bailli de Froulay, to whom he had been at firſt recommended. That miniſter perſuaded him to defer his journey a few days longer, in order to have time to reſume his negotiation. Edelſheim conſented; but next day was not a little ſurpriſed to find himſelf arreſted by a *lettre de cachet*, and conducted to the Baſtile. The duke de Choiſeul immediately viſited him in the place of his confinement, and aſſured the priſoner that he could not contrive any other method than that which he had adopted, of converſing with him freely, without giving ſuſpicion to the Auſtrian miniſter, Mr. Staremberg, who watched all his meaſures with the utmoſt jealouſy. The duke added, That he would willingly detain him, as long as the buſineſs required, in that place, which

His ſingular treatment by the duke de Choiſeul.

was peculiarly well fitted for a ſecret negotiation, and that he would furniſh him with ſafe and expeditious means of ſending his diſpatches to the king his maſter. This diſgraceful ſcene had been prepared for no other purpoſe but that of rifling Edelſheim's papers, in which the duke expected to find ſome inſtructions from the king of Pruſſia, which might enable him to unravel the deſigns of that prince. But in ranſacking the German's portfoglio, his grace found nothing of any conſequence but a letter of credit of which Edelſheim had not made uſe; and provoked at having committed this barren act of unſucceſsful meanneſs, he allowed the young man to be ſet at liberty, with poſitive orders to quit the kingdom as ſpeedily as poſſible by the way of Turin.

Frederick's negotiation with Denmark, 1760.

His Majeſty's negotiations at St. Peterſburgh, in which he employed a gentleman of Holſtein, were not more ſucceſsful; except that the Ruſſians diſmiſſed his emiſſary more politely than Edelſheim had been diſmiſſed by the French. The Empreſs was governed by her favourite Shuwalow, who was himſelf governed by the courts of

France and Vienna; and, as ſhe had been promiſed the kingdom of Pruſſia by her allies, ſhe already regarded that country as annexed to her dominions, and was unwilling to enter into any correſpondence which might have a tendency to intercept that magnificent proſpect. The king of Denmark, who dreaded the aggrandiſement, and ſtill more the neighbourhood of Ruſſia, ſeemed leſs diſinclined to ſecond the views of the court of Berlin. He knew that the Ruſſians intended that year to form the ſiege of Colberg, after the taking of which place they muſt have been maſters of the Baltic. Their immediate, and ſtill more, their remote views, gave much umbrage to Chriſtian VI. who conſidered that the great duke had pretenſions to Schleſwic, which he would not fail to aſſert as ſoon as he mounted the throne; a deſign which would be greatly facilitated by the deſtruction of his Pruſſian Majeſty; whereas, while a ſtate like Pruſſia ſubſiſted in the middle between Ruſſia and Denmark, it was ſcarcely poſſible for the former, how powerful ſoever at home, to carry on a ſucceſsful war in Schleſwic or Holſtein. Theſe prudential conſiderations engaged the Daniſh miniſtry to make overtures to the Pruſſian envoy at Copenhagen. They begun by offering their aſſiſtance to defend Pomerania; irreſolution and timidy made them ſpeedily repent their offer; they were anxious to break off the negotiation, and that they might retract their firſt propoſal, without giving offence to the king of Pruſſia, they eſtimated their aſſiſtance at ſo high a price, that they were ſure his Majeſty would reject it on ſuch terms. Having thus knocked as it were at every door, and finding how little aid was to be expected from the courts of Europe, Frederick had recourſe to his old allies, valour and perſeverance, for extricating himſelf from the unequal and deſtructive conteſt in which he had been reluctantly engaged.

Diſtribution of the Pruſſian troops preparatory to the campaign 1760.

In the ſpring, his Majeſty aſſumed the command of the army in Saxony; prince Henry was ſent to oppoſe the Ruſſians in Pomerania; Mr. Fouquet guarded the frontiers of Sileſia; and the prince of Wirtenberg was detached to reſtrain the incurſions of the Swedes. Theſe arrangements ſeemed to be the beſt adapted to counteract the operations of the enemy; for count Daun had received orders to aſſemble the grand army in Saxony, and without waiting to expel the remains of the Pruſſians from that electorate (a taſk which was to be left to the prince of Deuxponts, who commanded the troops of the Circles), to return immediately to Sileſia, and complete the conqueſt of that province; a deſign in which he was to be aſſiſted by the Ruſſians, who had promiſed to paſs the Oder, and by Mr. Laudohn, who was at the head of an army 40,000 ſtrong. This formidable project of concentrating the ſtrength of ſuch powerful enemies, afforded reaſon to apprehend that the enſuing campaign would prove ſtill more fatal than the former. To counterbalance this diſpiriting reflection, his Majeſty had recourſe to the uſeful efficacy of fortunate predictions, to the probable ſucceſs of imaginary diverſions, and to all thoſe contrivances by which policy is enabled to operate on the ſalutary ſuperſtition, and convenient credulity, of the vulgar.

Frederick's contrivances for encouraging his troops, April 1760.

The

Their ſucceſsful enterpriſes, May 1760.

The firſt operations of his troops correſponded with the generous ſentiments which he had employed ſuch pains to inſpire. In Upper Sileſia, Manteuſel's regiment of infantry defended itſelf during a long march againſt four regiments of Auſtrian cavalry; and in moving from Landſhut to Neiſſe, Moſel's infantry reſiſted a body of cavalry ſtill more powerful, commanded by Mr. Draſkowitz; killed great numbers of the enemy without loſing a ſingle man; and, after this glorious and almoſt unexampled defence, entered triumphant into the fortreſs of Neiſſe. Superiority of numbers indeed ſometimes prevailed; but on ſuch occaſions, the defeat of the Pruſſians was more honourable than the victory of their enemies. Mr. Laudohn having traverſed the county of Glatz, penetrated into Sileſia by Reichenbach, and threatened to beſiege Breſlaw. Mr. de Fouquet, who was poſted at Landſhut, haſtened to defend that capital. Appriſed of this movement, the enemy returned to the county of Glatz, and blocked up the city of that name, after occupying the poſt which Mr. de Fouquet had abandoned. That enterpriſing general, with only 10,000

men,

men, followed the Auſtrians amounting to 40,000, and diſlodged them from Landſhut; purpoſing to guard the frontiers of Bohemia, and as ſoon as he ſhould be reinforced, to move towards Glatz, and compel the enemy to raiſe the blockade.

Fouquet's defeat at Landſhut more glorious than a victory, June 23, 1760.

Having detached Mr. de Ziethen with four battalions to Zeiſſenberg, to ſecure the communication with Schweidnitz, Fouquet pitched his tents on the mountains between Blaſſdorf and Doctorberg. But a camp, as Frederick obſerves, ought to be like a garment, neither too large nor too ſmall; and the ground which Mr. de Fouquet had been under the neceſſity of occupying, was far too extenſive for his troops to maintain. Laudohn enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring with little danger a great reputation. Having left 12,000 men to continue the blockade of Glatz, he marched with 28,000 againſt Fouquet, whoſe numbers were now diminiſhed by the departure of Ziethen's detachment; and adding ſtratagem to force, occupied in the night two eminences, which commanded the flank and rear of the Pruſſians. Notwithſtanding the multiplied diſadvantages under which he laboured, Fouquet defended his poſt with heroic valour, and perſevered in his defence, until he perceived a body of Auſtrian cavalry advancing in full career to intercept his retreat. He then deſcended from the mountains, and having formed his infantry into a ſquare, prepared to conduct them to Bolkenhayn. The firſt aſſaults of the Auſtrian cavalry were vigorouſly repelled; but the Pruſſians had almoſt conſumed their ammunition; Fouquet being twice wounded, was taken; and his infantry were ſurrounded and overwhelmed by numbers. But this diſaſter, which reſembled that of the Spartans at Thermopylæ both in its cataſtrophe and in the incidents preceding it, far from tarniſhing the fame of an officer ſo long and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, adorned his renown with new luſtre, and furniſhed a memorable example of what courage and perſeverance may effect againſt the greateſt ſuperiority of ſtrength and numbers. The whole of this illuſtrious band did not periſh. The huſſars and dragoons made their way through the enemy by the point of the ſword; and not only ſaved themſelves, but conducted 1500 of the infantry in ſafety to Breſlaw. Ziethen ſeaſonably threw his detachment into Schweidnitz, to avoid the fate of Fouquet. The Auſtrians uſed their advantages moſt barbarouſly; the ſoldiers plundering Landſhut with ſhocking circumſtances of licentious cruelty, while the officers encouraged and applauded their moſt abominable exceſſes, which neither reſpected age nor pitied youth, and which only ſpared deformity and diſeaſe.

Frederick's ſingular contrivance for at once maintaining his ground in Saxony, and defending Sileſia.

The king received in Saxony the unwelcome news of the blockade of Glatz; a place which being as it were the key to Sileſia, he could not conſent to abandon, at the ſame time that it was extremely dangerous to quit Saxony, where the remains of his army muſt be expoſed to count Daun's great ſuperiority of numbers. In this emergency, the beſt expedient appeared to be that of conducting the march to Sileſia in ſuch a manner, that his Majeſty might oblige Daun to attend his motions, and thus allure the greater army to follow in the train of a leſſer. Nor could this meaſure be executed without conſiderable riſk, ſince it would neceſſarily place the Pruſſians between Laudohn, who was already in Sileſia, and Daun, who was ſuppoſed to accompany the king thither. Frederick however determined to run this riſk, hoping that he might be reinforced by Mr. de Fouquet, of whoſe diſaſter he was as yet ignorant. In this deſign his Majeſty proceeded to Berbigſdorf, where he learned Fouquet's defeat and captivity, circumſtances which rendered his own preſence in Sileſia more neceſſary than ever. It was the middle of July; and the heat was ſo intenſe, that eighty men dropped down dead in one march. The rear of the Pruſſians was ſo much haraſſed by Laſcy's cavalry, that the king having detached 500 huſſars to obſerve the motions of count Daun, determined to rid himſelf of that partiſan. He therefore changed his front, attacked and defeated Laſcy, and obliged him to repaſs the Elbe near Dreſden. Before this time, Daun had proceeded ſo far on his march, that it was impoſſible to prevent his entering Sileſia. To compel him to return from that province, the king, who found himſelf in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, ſuddenly inveſted that city. This meaſure, though quite unpremeditated, would have been

He inveſts Dreſden, July 13, 1760.

Glatz taken by the Auſtrians.

been crowned with ſucceſs, and Dreſden muſt have ſpeedily ſurrendered, had not the want of ammunition conſpired with the approach of mareſchal Daun to make the Pruſſians raiſe the ſiege. To theſe circumſtances was added a reaſon more deciſive, the conqueſt of Glatz by Mr. Harſch; an event altogether unexpected, as that place was ſtrongly fortified, and ſtrongly garriſoned, and abundantly provided with arms and magazines for ſtanding a long ſiege. The plan for taking it had been laid by Mr. Laudohn, who by means of the Jeſuits and other religious fraternities, and the whole Popiſh prieſthood, eternal enemies to Frederick, had contrived to corrupt the ſoldiers of the garriſon; and the troops poſted on that part of the works where Harſch made his aſſault, were of the number of thoſe who had yielded to their temptations.

Frederick marches into Sileſia between two great Auſtrian

Appriſed of this fatal event, Frederick reſumed his firſt reſolution of marching into Sileſia; and according to the plan which he had contrived, his army was ſo cloſely attended by that of mareſchal Daun, armies, Auguſt 1760.

that a ſpectator would have ſuppoſed them to be commanded by the ſame general. The mareſchal's army formed the van; the king's, the middle; and the diviſion of Mr. Laſcy, who had repaſſed the Elbe, compoſed the rear. The laſt, however, reſtrained by his recent check, advanced more cautiouſly than before, and kept at the diſtance of three miles from the Pruſſians. This arrangement afforded the king an opportunity of intercepting a courier from Daun to Laſcy, charged with a letter, in which he aſked his opinion, Whether it would be more adviſable to undertake the ſiege of Schweidnitz, or that of Neiſſe; and deſiring him not to fatigue his troops by uſeleſs expedition. His Majeſty arrived at Bunzlau, the ſame day that mareſchal Daun reached Lewenberg; and the two armies having marched in five days from the banks of the Elbe to thoſe of the Bober, ſtood equally in need of repoſe. After halting one day, they again put themſelves in motion, the king with the hope of reaching his great magazines in Breſlaw or Schweidnitz; the enemy with a view to cut off his communication with thoſe cities.

His dexterous expedient for reſiſting ſuperior numbers.

Such oppoſite aims produced ſingular contraſts in the movements of the two armies. The king, ſenſible that it would be highly imprudent with 30,000 men to riſk an engagement againſt an army 90,000 ſtrong, could think of no other expedient in the preſent exigency, than that of imitating the conduct of a partiſan, who changes his ſituation every night, in order to avoid the irreſiſtible ſhock of ſuperior numbers. But while his Majeſty continually changed his poſt for the ſafety of his troops, he durſt not venture to remove too far from the enemy, leſt they ſhould have turned their arms againſt prince Henry, who had already to contend with 80,000 Ruſſians. To unite both objects, his Majeſty moved from one height to another, but always kept the Auſtrians in view. They examined his poſitions, and formed their plans accordingly; but before they proceeded to put them in execution, the Pruſſians had already diſappeared, and occupied a new camp, before which Daun was obliged again to repeat the ſame tedious formalities.

Movements preparatory to the battle of Lignitz, Auguſt 15, 1760;

Agreeably to this ſyſtem, which afforded a temporary reſource againſt ſuperior ſtrength, the king ſtood at bay, and watched an opportunity to aſſault one diviſion of his enemies, while the others were too remote to yield it aſſiſtance. This deſign became the more neceſſary, becauſe he had been informed by his ſpies, that Mr. Czernichef, at the head of 20,000 Ruſſians, had paſſed the Oder at Auras. Two generals, who have conducted hoſtile armies for a ſeries of years, acquire the habit of divining each other's intentions. The king, who was encamped at Lignitz, perceived that Mr. Laſcy's diviſion meant to turn his right; that mareſchal Daun, reinforced by the Ruſſians, prepared to attack him in front; and that Mr. Laudohn would probably occupy the heights of Pfaffendorf to cut off his retreat to Glogau. To prevent this complicated danger, he quitted his camp at Lignitz, paſſed the river Katzbach, and examined with his generals the heights of Pfaffendorf. His army began to march in

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in the duſk of the evening; and ſoon afterwards, a deſerter from the enemy, an Iriſhman by birth and an officer, was brought to his Majeſty. He was ſo much intoxicated, that his ſtammering could hardly expreſs that he had an important ſecret to reveal; and after undergoing proper evacuations, he was enabled to explain this ſecret, which turned out to be nothing elſe than what his Majeſty had divined, mareſchal Daun's reſolution to give battle next day. By their nocturnal march, however, the Pruſſians had withdrawn themſelves from his aſſault; and having now formed on the ſloping bank at Pfaffendorf, which commanded all the avenues by which the enemy could approach them, they prepared to bring on an action with general Laudohn, who, as his Majeſty had conjectured, was marching to take poſſeſſion of the advantageous ground which he himelf had already occupied.

in which the Auſtrian armies are defeated, and compelled to retreat, Auguſt 15, 1760.

Laudohn, who imagined that he might have a ſmall detachment to diſlodge, but who little ſuſpected that he had a great army to combat, was eaſily allured to advance within reach of the Pruſſian cannon.

The darkneſs of the night, and the ſurpriſe, contributed to the completeneſs of his defeat. The field of battle was covered with 10,000 ſlain. The Pruſſians took 6000 priſoners, beſides eighty officers, two generals, twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon. The feeble remnant of Laudohn's army fled in diſorder towards Wahlſtadt. At day-break, Daun and Laſcy advanced to attack the Pruſſians at Lignitz, but were ſurpriſed to find an empty camp. The king had amuſed them in the night by ſome huſſars, who imitated the noiſe of patrols and ſentinels. That day proved moſt inauſpicious to the Auſtrians. The wind was ſo unfavourable, that they had not heard the report of 200 pieces of cannon, which fired at half a mile's diſtance. Their firſt news of the enemy was the ſight of the Pruſſians arrayed in order of battle, on the oppoſite ſide of the Katzbach. After long heſitation, Daun determined to attack that diviſion; but his Majeſty, who had defeated Laudohn with his left, had by this time moved to his right; and perceiving that the Pruſſian artillery much diſconcerted the mareſchal's movements, he or-

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dered his troops to fire in demonſtration of joy, which completed the irreſolution of the Auſtrians, and precipitated their retreat. Diligently availing themſelves of their victory over Laudohn, of the heſitation of mareſchal Daun, and of the remoteneſs of Mr. Laſcy, who had been detached to ſeek a ford over the Schwarzwaſſer, the Pruſſians, who were in want of proviſions, immediately paſſed the Katzbach at Parchwitz, in order to approach their magazines; having repelled with little difficulty Mr. Nauendorf, who guarded the banks of that river.

Frederick diſperſes the Ruſſians by a ſtratagem, September 1760;

Frederick having encamped at Parchwitz, learned that the Ruſſians under Czernichef had advanced as far as Liſſa. Theſe invaders might be joined by the Auſtrians; they might proceed to Neuſtadt; and by occupying that poſt, might intercept the communication of the army with Breſlaw, and thereby oblige the Pruſſians to riſk another battle, before they effected the purpoſe which they had in view. In order to rid himſelf of this new enemy, the king had recourſe to a ſtratagem. He wrote a letter to his brother prince Henry, mentioning that he had completely defeated the Auſtrians, that he was preparing a bridge on the Oder, and after paſſing that river, hoped, with equal ſucceſs, to attack the Ruſſians commanded by Mr. Soltikow. He therefore deſired his brother to put in execution the meaſures which had been concerted between them. This letter was conſigned to a peaſant, who had orders to throw himſelf in the way of Mr. Czernichef's advanced parties. Truſting to the effect of this expedient, the army advanced in three columns towards Neumarck. In this march, the huſſars defeated a detachment which eſcorted a part of the enemy's baggage. Having ſeized this booty, they learned that the conquered detachment belonged to Mr. Beck's diviſion, which was in full march to join the Pruſſians at Neumarck. Soon after, mareſchal Daun's whole army was ſeen advancing on the Pruſſian right. The ſituation of the king was now very perplexing. The ſoldiers had bread for only one day. They were cut off from Schweidnitz by mareſchal Daun; the Ruſſians were probably poſted at Neumarck to intercept their communication with Breſlaw;

law; they were encumbered with 6000 priſoners, and 1100 wounded; it would be hazardous to riſk a new engagement, and mortifying to retreat towards Glogau. When the heads of his columns had reached Blumerode, the king advanced with a body of huſſars, and penetrating into the foreſt of Neumarck, proceeded near enough to that place, to perceive that there was not any camp in its neighbourhood. An officer who had been ſent to explore the country more accurately, returned with an Auſtrian colonel, who had been entruſted with diſpatches for Mr. Czernichef; and who, enraged at being made priſoner, vented his execrations againſt the Ruſſians, who had repaſſed the Oder, deſtroyed the bridge, and left him a prey to the enemy.

and gains a communication with Breſlaw, 1760.

From this agreeable intelligence, it appeared that the letter committed to the peaſant had produced the deſired effect: Czernichef had haſtened to reinforce Soltikow; and the Pruſſians entered unmoleſted into their camp at Neumarck. As the communication was thus opened with Breſlaw, the troops, now aſſured of ſubſiſtence, were entitled to a ſhort repoſe, after nine days of unremitting fatigue, which they had endured with heroic patience.

The vicinity of the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies, and its extraordinary effects, October 1760.

His Majeſty however was ſtill ſurrounded by numerous enemies; and as the two Pruſſian armies, reſpectively commanded by prince Henry and himſelf, were too feeble to act ſeparately, he commanded that prince to join him with his main force, and to detach Mr. Golz with 12,000 men to obſerve the motions of the Ruſſians. After this junction, his Majeſty, that he might gain leiſure to drive the Ruſſians from the frontiers of Brandenburgh, attempted to expel the Auſtrians from Sileſia, by various marches calculated for turning their flanks, in order to deſtroy their magazines, and intercept their convoys from Bohemia. But Mr. Daun at length poſted his army ſo judiciouſly on the mountains of Bægenſdorf, that by a ſmall movement of his centre, he had it in his power to oblige the Pruſſians to make a much greater one of their flanks. The king encamped on the heights of Beerſdorf and Dalmanſdorf; and the hoſtile armies were ſo completely ſhut up among the intricacies of the mountains, that neither of them could ſafely move a ſingle ſtep. Their unuſual vicinity enabled them to cannonade each other with effect; but as this act of hoſtility could not have produced any deciſive advantage both remained quiet; their out-poſts were contiguous; they mutually ſhowed the way to each other's patrols, who happened to wander in the obſcurity of night; and a ſtranger who had witneſſed their proceedings, muſt have ſuppoſed that they had concluded an armiſtice.

The Ruſſians repaſs the Oder, and invade Brandenburgh, October 1760.

Mr. Daun, who regretted loſing the fruits of this campaign, employed every engine to move the Ruſſians to invade Brandenburgh. Such an expedition, he hoped, by wounding the moſt tender part, would oblige Frederick to haſten to the defence of his hereditary dominions, and his capital; and to leave to himſelf free ſcope for proſecuting his operations in Sileſia. Moved by his inſtigations, and encouraged by his reinforcements, Meſſrs. Czernichef and Totleben paſſed the Oder at Beuthen, and advanced to Chriſtianſtadt, while general Soltikow marched towards Frankfort, where he arrived the 6th of October. The prince of Wirtemberg, who had been employed againſt the Swedes and Ruſſians in Pomerania, no ſooner received intelligence of this invaſion, than he haſtened to the defence of Berlin, leaving Mr. Werner to reſiſt the incurſions of the northern enemy, whom his boldneſs had recently impreſſed with a ſtrong ſenſation of terror.

Mr. Werner repels the Swediſh fleet with nine ſquadrons of dragoons.

The ſingular expedition of Mr. Werner deſerves to be related in few words, to brighten the tragic gloom of this melancholy hiſtory. The Ruſſian admiral Danielowitz, with twenty-ſix ſhips of war, had been joined by a Swediſh ſquadron; and the combined fleets had begun to form the ſiege of Colberg the 26th of Auguſt. Werner haſtened to its relief, ſurpriſed the enemy at Selnow, made himſelf maſter of the important paſs of Kautzenberg, and threw his four battalions and nine ſquadrons into the place. Alarmed by the rapidity of his progreſs, the combined armies raiſed the ſiege, and embarked on board their fleet, abandoning their cannon and ammunition. Werner took 600 priſoners; and next day advanced with his cavalry to the ſhore of the Baltic, where, by the unaccountable effect of mechanical terror, the hoſtile armament weighed anchor, and fled in trepidation with crowded ſail. Numberleſs exploits of heroiſm had been performed; but it was reſerved for Mr. Werner to diſcomfit a great fleet with nine ſquadrons of huſſars.

Two brothers, princes of Wirtenberg, fighting on oppoſite ſides, to conquer and defend Berlin.

While the prince of Wirtenberg flew to the defence of Berlin, his elder brother, the duke, co-operated with the Auſtrians, and troops of the Circles, in ruining the Pruſſian affairs in Saxony. The king, who imagined that the Auſtrians would not undertake any ſiege in Sileſia, at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, left his camp at Dittmanſdorf, the 7th of October, and arrived the 15th at Gros-Mærau, with a view either to drive the invaders from Brandenburgh, or to intercept their retreat. But in that electorate, the military operations took a turn altogether different from what his Majeſty had expected. With 16,000 men, it was impoſſible to defend the vaſt extent of Berlin, a city three German miles in circumference, againſt 20,000 Ruſſians, and 18,000 Auſtrians. The enemy had already begun to bombard the place; and if the Pruſſians, moſt of whom were ſick or wounded, perſevered in reſiſtance, there was every reaſon to apprehend that the troops would be made priſoners, and the capital totally ruined. Theſe judicious reflections determined the prince of Wirtenberg and Mr. Hulſen to retire to Spandau, on the 9th, after adviſing the inhabitants of Berlin to capitulate.

The enormities of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians in that capital, October 9, 1760;

That ſame day, the enemy entered Berlin; and although the inhabitants had ranſomed themſelves from plunder and outrage, by a contribution of 2,000,000 of crowns, Meſſrs. Czernichef and Laſcy were preparing to ſet fire to the city. Their violence was reſtrained by the juſt and manly remonſtrances of Mr. Vereiſt, the Dutch envoy. That reſpectable republican pleaded the laws of war, urged the rights of nations, and painted to thoſe vindictive commanders their intended cruelty in ſuch odious colours, that they deſiſted from their atrocious purpoſe. Their fury vented itſelf againſt

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who retire at Frederick's approach.

the palaces of Schænhouſen and Charlottenbourg, which were plundered by the Coſſacks and Saxons. The news of the king's approach made them retire on the 12th. Czernichef repaſſed the Oder, Soltikow retreated towards Landſberg; and Laſcy, marking his route with deſolation, returned in three days to Torgau in Saxony.

He marches to re-eſtabliſh his affairs in Saxony.

Thus delivered from the Ruſſians, the king directed his march towards Saxony, in order to re-eſtabliſh his affairs in that electorate; moſt places of which had been regained by the enemy. Having repelled the troops of the Circles, he eſtabliſhed his quarters in the diſtrict around Leipſic. But mareſchal Daun had followed Laſcy to Torgau; and the Imperialiſts had eſtabliſhed themſelves there in ſuch force, as afforded reaſon to dread that the Pruſſians would be cut off from Sileſia and Brandenburgh; and that theſe provinces would be again invaded by the Ruſſians; who having ravaged the moſt valuable part of his Majeſty's dominions, might join their allies on the banks of the Elbe, and compel the Pruſſians to take up their winter quarters beyond the Muldau, in the narrow territory between the Saale and the Unſtrut.

Defeats mareſchal Daun at Torgau, November 3, 1760.

To prevent this inconvenience (reſpecting which the information of his ſpies converted ſuſpicion into certainty), his Majeſty determined to diſlodge the enemy from Torgau; and, if neceſſary for that purpoſe, to riſque an engagement with far ſuperior force, ſtrongly poſted. After various manœuvres calculated to create jealouſy in Daun reſpecting the ſecurity of his ſupplies, and the ſafety of Dreſden, which was weakly garriſoned, the king perceiving that the mareſchal carefully maintained his poſt, determined to commit the fate of Pruſſia to the deciſion of a battle. On the 2d of November he marched to Schilda. The enemy covered the ſloping bank of Suplitz, defended by 400 pieces of cannon; their left extended beyond the village of Zinna, their right to the marſh of Groſwick. The king availed himſelf of their neglect to ſeize the narrow defile of Neiden, and penetrating into a ſmall wood, which they had left unguarded, ſecretly obſerved their poſition with his own eyes. By means of this wood, and a deep ravine, 800 paces diſtant from the Auſtrian army, he was enabled to form his troops with ſecrecy and ſafety. After repeated attacks, and a moſt obſtinate and deſtructive reſiſtance, the Pruſſians broke the enemy's centre, and eſtabliſhed their batteries on the hill of Suplitz. This event decided the victory, which coſt Frederick 13,000 men. Daun, who was wounded in the beginning of the engagement, loſt 20,000 men, of whom 8000 were taken priſoners. Torgau ſurrendered next day to Mr. Hulſen; the prince of Wirtenberg purſued the enemy to Arzberg; Odonnel, who ſucceeded Mr. Daun, returned to Dreſden, and ſent his enfeebled battalions into Bohemia: the king extended his quarters to Uckerſdorf, and the news of his victory ſo much alarmed the Ruſſians that they retired towards Thorn, and ſpeedily repaſſed the Viſtula.

Prince Ferdinand, unfortunate in this

Frederick eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Leipſic, that he might have an opportunity to oppoſe the deſigns of the French, who, by campaign, retreats into Hanover, February 1761.

by the advantages which they had gained over prince Ferdinand in the courſe of this campaign, had advanced their poſts towards the frontiers of Saxony and Brandenburgh. During the winter, his Majeſty encouraged that prince to attempt the expulſion of mareſchal Broglio from the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel. But this enterpriſe was not crowned with ſucceſs; and the allies thought themſelves fortunate in being able to retreat without loſs to the electorate of Hanover.

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Treaty with the Porte. Views of Frederick's enemies. His campaign againſt the Swedes, Ruſſians, and Saxons. His ſingular camp at Bunzelwitz. Laudohn ſurpriſes Schweidnitz. Frederick's ſtratagem for preventing the bad conſequences of that event. The Auſtrians ſleep eight nights on their arms. Frederick's negotiation with the Khan of the Tartars. With the Grand Seignior. Death of the Empreſs of Ruſſia. Frederick's peace with Sweden. The family compact. England breaks with Pruſſia. The campaign 1762. *Frederick joined by the Ruſſians. A new revolution in Ruſſia. The Ruſſian army recalled from Frederick's camp. He profits of their continuance there three days. Recovers Sileſia. Succeſſes of prince Henry and prince Ferdinand. Frederick's boldneſs intimidates all his enemies. The peace of Hubertſbourgh. Cauſes of Frederick's unexampled ſucceſs. He repairs the evils occaſioned by the war.*

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Frederick's

IN each ſucceeding campaign, Frederick felt more ſeverely the preſſure of his multiplied enemies. Had he loſt the battle of Torgau, his ruin was inevitable; and another ſuch victory, in which he had ſacrificed 13,000 men to the neceſſity of ſecuring winter quarters, would have reduced his ſtrength to ſuch a decided and viſible inferiority, that the Pruſſians, brave as they were, muſt have trembled at the ſight of their own weakneſs. Frederick, therefore, ſecretly determined to act in future chiefly on the defenſive; and in order to conceal this deſign, the diſcovery of which muſt have ruined him at once, he reſolved often to threaten, but ſeldom to ſtrike; to maintain his ground with unabating firmneſs; and to look forward with hope, founded on experience, to the benefits of time and chance, which ſeldom fail to reward the virtues of patience and perſeverance.

Plan for the campaign 1761.

The firſt ray of proſperity broke from the Eaſt; the Pruſſian miniſter was admitted to a public audience of the Sultan, and allowed to ſign a treaty of friendſhip with the grand vizier, vague indeed and ineffectual in itſelf, yet ſufficient to alarm the

His treaty with the Porte.

the jealouſy of the courts of St. Peterſburgh and Vienna.

State of Europe and views of his Majeſty's enemies.

In Stockholm, the aſſembly of the ſtates ſeverely arraigned the French faction for involving them in a war equally ruinous and diſgraceful. In France, the boaſted alliance with the Houſe of Auſtria had loſt the gloſs of novelty. It was unfaſhionable to praiſe it even among the vulgar; while men of ſenſe, who, ſtanding aloof from public affairs, were thereby enabled to appreciate their revolutions with impartial wiſdom, lamented that their country ſhould exhauſt her treaſure to gratify the views of an ambitious rival, and conſume in an unprovoked and unneceſſary German war, the reſources which ought to be employed in defending her own commerce and colonies. The king of Poland ſighed for peace; ſenſible that while Saxony was the theatre of military operations that electorate muſt remain a prey to the ravages not only of his enemies but of his friends. The Empreſs Elizabeth diſliked war and bloodſhed, becauſe ſhe hated buſineſs and trouble; but her pliant character yielded eaſily to the impreſſions of thoſe by whom ſhe was ſurrounded; her ambition was flattered by the hopes of adding the kingdom of Pruſſia to her dominions, already too extenſive; and her pride diſdained making peace until ſhe had cruſhed her adverſary. Maria Thereſa rejoiced in the perſevering animoſity which ſhe had excited in ſo many princes againſt the capital enemy of her houſe; and the French miniſtry, deaf to the clamours, and blind to the intereſt, of the public, maintained their hoſtility to Frederick with that obſtinacy natural to mere men of buſineſs, who are led from one falſe ſtep to another, whirled round by a vortex which they are unable to direct, and finally loſt in the intricacies of their own ſyſtem.

Their deceitful declarations.

Such were the real views of his Majeſty's enemies; but their declarations were far different. In order to calm the diſſenſions in Sweden, and to ſlacken the preparations of England, the court of Verſailles profeſſed an earneſt deſire of peace; the Empreſs Queen propoſed aſſembling a congreſs at Augſbourg, in which the belligerent powers

might

might adjuſt their reſpective intereſts; miniſters paſſed reciprocally between the courts of London and Verſailles: but, amidſt theſe fruitleſs negotiations, neither party remitted hoſtilities, and the confederacy formed againſt Pruſſia prepared to open and proſecute the enſuing campaign with renewed hope and redoubled energy.

The campaign 1761, againſt the Swedes, Ruſſians, and Saxons.

In the vaſt ſpace to which the operations of ſo many armies extended, the aſſault grew more vigorous, and the reſiſtance more feeble; but the mode of carrying on the war remained uniformly the ſame. Towards the ſhore of the Baltic, Pomerania, on the weſtern ſide of the Oder, was ravaged by the Swedes; the eaſtern portion of that province was invaded by the Ruſſians, who having defeated the prince of Wirtenberg, took Colberg, threatened Stettin, and alarmed Berlin itſelf. In Saxony prince Henry long defended his ground with great military ſkill againſt the troops of the Circles, as well as againſt the Auſtrians under count Daun. But irreſiſtible ſuperiority of numbers enabling his enemies to occupy the moſt advantageous poſts, he was finally reduced to the neceſſity of fortifying his camp in the neighbourhood of Peterſberg, and confined to very narrow winter quarters.

Frederick forms a camp of ſingular ſtrength near Bunzelwitz in Sileſia, July 1761;

The king in perſon undertook the defence of Sileſia againſt the combined armies of the Auſtrians and Ruſſians, reſpectively commanded by general Laudohn, and Meſſrs. Czernichef and Butterlin. To protect that important province, and more particularly to watch over the ſafety of Schweidnitz, his chief magazine and principal reſource, Frederick fixed his camp near Bunzelwitz, and ſecured his poſition by intrenchments on his front and rear as well as on his flanks. This camp inſenſibly grew into the reſemblance of a fortified town, of which the mountain of Warben might be conſidered as the citadel. From that mountain to the village of Bunzelwitz, it was covered by a deep marſh; and the batteries of Bunzelwitz and Jauernick, by a croſſing fire, defended its front againſt the Auſtrians. In the middle between, but a little behind, theſe villages, the infantry were ſecured by large redoutes, furniſhed with a numerous train of artillery. The right flank ran parallel to the river Striegau. A wood, containing a maſked battery, covered the rear. The hills on both ſides were guarded and intrenched; and in the works throughout, the intrenchments and the ditches were ſixteen feet broad, and the latter twelve feet deep. The wide circumference was ſurrounded by a ſtrong and intricate paliſade; and the ſalient parts were provided with mines and traps, bordered all around with a deep line of almoſt contiguous chevaux de frize. The army conſiſted of 66 battalions and 143 ſquadrons; paſſages had been carefully prepared for allowing a free outlet to the cavalry; the different batteries contained 460 pieces of artillery; and 182 mines were ready to ſpring on the firſt ſignal.

in which he defies his combined enemies, Auguſt 1761.

This ſingular camp, which art and nature thus conſpired to fortify, was ſoon ſurrounded, as by a line of circumvallation, with the numerous diviſions of the enemy, who ſeemed determined at every hazard to come to an engagement with the Pruſſians. But on whatever ſide they made their attacks, the reſiſtance far ſurpaſſed their expectation. In day time, the ſtrength of the camp diſpelled every ground of fear; but every thing was to be feared in the night, on account of the proximity of the enemy. To provide againſt the danger of a nocturnal aſſault, the tents were ſtruck every evening; and the ſoldiers ſlept in the open air on the margin of the intrenchments. By occupying the poſts of Camerau and Schænbrunn, Mr. Laudohn interrupted the communication of the Pruſſians with Schweidnitz, from which alone they derived their forage and proviſions. The king therefore ſent an intermediate detachment to Junkendorf, which ſeized a poſt in that neighbourhood, the right of which was protected by the batteries of the camp, and the left by the walls of Schweidnitz. Thus provided with the means both of ſubſiſtence and defence, Frederick from the heights of Warben not only defied his enemies, but detached Mr. Platen, under pretence of eſcorting a convoy from Breſlaw, to deſtroy the Ruſſian magazines on the frontiers of Poland; an enterpriſe which that general ſucceſsfully executed. This meaſure haſtened the retreat of Mr. Butterlin beyond the Oder; his aſſociate Czernichef, who was at the head

He deſtroys the Ruſſian magazines, September 17, 1761.

head of 20,000 men, ſtill remained with Mr. Laudohn; who thinking it dangerous longer to keep the place, retired to his former poſt at Kunzendorf among the mountains.

Scarcity of proviſions obliges him to remove his camp to the neighbourhood of Munſterberg, September 29.

Had not the magazines of Schweidnitz, which ſo long ſupplied the army, been almoſt exhauſted, the campaign might have terminated in Sileſia without producing any memorable event; but the king muſt have been ſoon obliged to bring his ſupplies from Breſlaw, from which place his convoys to the camp would have required an eſcort of at leaſt 10,000 men. Since the departure of Mr. Platen, it would have been dangerous to weaken the army by making ſo large a detachment. Theſe conſiderations determined his Majeſty to raiſe his camp and move towards the Neiſſe, on the banks of which the army might ſubſiſt in plenty, and create ſuch jealouſy in the enemy reſpecting the county of Glatz and the marquiſate of Moravia, as would make them quit the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz. With this view Frederick marched to Pulzen, from thence to Siegroth, and arrived the 29th at Noſſen near to Munſterberg; where two days afterwards he was informed that Mr. Laudohn, by a coup de main, had made himſelf maſter of Schweidnitz.

Schweidnitz ſurpriſed by general Laudohn, September 30, 1761.

This event, which diſconcerted all the king's meaſures, and gave the enemy a firm footing in Sileſia, happened in the following manner. Among the priſoners confined in that place, and amounting to 500, there was a major Roca, an Italian and partiſan, who had the addreſs to gain ſuch favour with the governor Mr. Zaſtrow, that the latter allowed Roca more liberty than a priſoner ought to enjoy, eſpecially in a city ſurrounded by enemies. Roca had leiſure to examine the works, knew the ſtrength of the different guards, and remarked various negligences in the ſervice of the garriſon. Having converſed with the Auſtrian priſoners, and corrupted ſeveral of the townſmen, he informed Mr. Laudohn of all that he had ſeen, heard, or imagined, in order to enable that general to make himſelf maſter of the place. In conſequence of his intrigues with Roca, Laudohn formed

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the plan of ſurpriſing Breſlaw in the night of the 30th of September, by four different attacks againſt the two principal gates and the two principal fortreſſes. Mr. Zaſtrow, the governor, had paſſed that evening at a ball; but upon ſome unknown ground of ſuſpicion, had diſtributed arms to the garriſon, and poſted guards on the works. He neglected however to inſtruct his officers in what manner they ſhould conduct their defence; he omitted to ſend his cavalry to ſcour the country; he forgot even to throw fire-balls to brighten the obſcurity of night, and unveil the aſſaults of his unknown invaders, who became maſters of the place, without any other loſs than what was occaſioned by the accidental blowing up of a powder magazine in the fortreſs of Beckendorf.

Frederick's dexterity in preventing the natural conſequences of that misfortune, October.

Having received the mortifying news of this diſaſter, the king marched to Strehlen, and from thence to an intrenched camp, which his foreſight had ſeaſonably fortified in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw. He determined now to confine himſelf more rigorouſly than ever to the defenſive; but to conceal this reſolution, diſtributed ammunition for the fire-arms, commanded the bayonets to be furbiſhed, the ſwords to be ſharpened, and talked of nothing but vigorous exertions and bold enterpriſes. The Auſtrian ſpies, who were numerous and well known in the army, immediately eſcaped to communicate that important intelligence to their employers. The impreſſion which they created in Mr. Laudohn exceeded the king's moſt ſanguine hopes. Poſterity will hardly credit that the Auſtrians and Ruſſians, encamped on the heights of Kunzendorf, ſlept eight nights on their arms, expecting every moment to be attacked by an enemy greatly inferior in number, and exhauſted by a long ſeries of bloody encounters and unremitting fatigue. The inactivity of Mr. Laudohn, who cloſed his operations with the taking of Schweidnitz, ſaved the Pruſſians, and rendered that unexpected blow far leſs diſaſtrous than there was reaſon to apprehend. The troops on all ſides entered into winter quarters; the Pruſſians had been unfortunate in every country where they fought; and prince Ferdinand of

With a far inferior force, obliges his enemies to ſleep eight nights on their arms, November 1761.

The troops enter into winter quarters.

of Brunſwick alone terminated this campaign againſt the mareſchals Broglio and Soubiſe, without ſuſtaining any loſs.

Frederick's negotiation with the Khan of the Tartars,

Amidſt the military misfortunes which threatened to overwhelm the ſcattered dominions of Frederick, the revolutions of public affairs in Europe, to which he had patiently looked forward, afforded ſome glimpſe of hope; and an event, which his prudence had foreſeen as probable, enabled him finally to conclude this memorable war with a degree of honour correſponding to the fortitude with which he had carried it on. Soon after the loſs of Schweidnitz, his Majeſty received an embaſſy from the Khan of the Tartars. The ambaſſador was the Khan's barber; a circumſtance which cannot fail to ſhock the prejudices of thoſe who have been habituated to the ceremonial of European courts, yet conſonant enough to the manners of the Eaſt, where the diſtinctions of birth being unknown, thoſe men who approach the neareſt to the perſon of their maſter, are naturally honoured with the principal ſhare in his confidence. The credentials of this ambaſſador, or barber, were ridiculous enough, yet not more ridiculous than the ſtyle of the chancery of the Holy Roman Empire. He propoſed an alliance between his maſter and Frederick; offered the king a reinforcement, and demanded from him a ſubſidy. The propoſal was accepted, and the ambaſſador being loaded with preſents both for himſelf and for the Khan, was accompanied in his return to Bacieſarai by Mr. Goltz, who had orders ſtrenuouſly to preſs the completion of the treaty. A body of 16,000 Tartars, added to a detachment of his own troops, would have enabled his Majeſty to make a powerful diverſion in Hungary. Mr. Boſcamp, the king's agent at Bacieſarai, was deſired at the ſame to urge the Khan to invade Ruſſia; an undertaking of the greater importance, becauſe, as ſoon as hoſtilities had commenced in that country, the Turks would have been obliged to ſupport the Tartars.

and with the Turks.

The grand vizier, a man grown old in intrigue, dreaded war, becauſe he knew not how to conduct it; and was averſe to commit his well-eſtabliſhed greatneſs to the viciſſitudes of fortune. Firmly united with the Mufti, he oppoſed thoſe members of the Divan who were deſirous to retaliate the injuries of the Houſe of Auſtria, repreſenting, that as the term fixed for the continuance of the truce with the Empreſs had not yet expired, the law of Mahomet permitted not the commencement of hoſtilities. Yet, with a degree of inconſiſtency to which even deep politicians are ſometimes liable, he aſſembled an army of 110,000 men in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and formed a very formidable cordon along the Auſtrian frontiers. The Khan likewiſe ſent a new emiſſary to his Majeſty, who, inſtead of 16,000, promiſed to raiſe 40,000 men in the ſpring; but events, which ſoon afterwards happened in Ruſſia, totally confounded the very limited underſtandings of the Turks and Tartars, and rendered their aſſiſtance to the king, which he had been at ſuch pains to procure, extremely inſignificant, and altogether unneceſſary.

Death of the Empreſs Elizabeth, makes a difference

On the 5th January 1762, the Empreſs Elizabeth, who had for ſeveral years paſt been in a languiſhing condition, died ſuddenly of a ſpitting of blood. By her demiſe,

miſe, the empire devolved on the Great Duke, with whom, when he was only duke of Holſtein, Frederick had entered into the moſt intimate correſpondence, and bound to his friendſhip by good offices. The admiration of Peter III. for the character of Frederick was only ſurpaſſed by his gratitude towards that prince. He immediately recalled the troops under Mr. de Czernichef from the Auſtrian army; concluded a peace with Pruſſia, without demanding the ſmalleſt ſacrifice on the part of that crown; ſoon afterwards entered into an alliance with Frederick; and finally commanded Czernichef to join the Pruſſians in Sileſia. From the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, the Auſtrian miniſters ſo little doubted their recovering that province, that they had diſbanded 20,000 men. An unuſual malady, whoſe ſymptoms reſembled the leproſy, broke out among the troops which they ſtill kept on foot. This diſeaſe thinned their camp, and peopled their hoſpitals. The number of thoſe whom it deſtroyed cannot be aſcertained with accuracy; but the unſeaſonable diſbanding of 20,000 Auſtrians, and the ſubſequent defection of 20,000

of 60,000 in favour of Frederick.

20,000 Ruſſians, who joined the king's army, made, on the whole amount, a difference of 60,000 men in favour of his Majeſty; an advantage in point of numbers, greater than he could have expected from gaining three pitched battles.

Frederick's peace with Sweden, June 1762.

The revolution in the politics of Ruſſia obliged the Swedes to make peace. Frederick received a letter from his ſiſter the queen of Sweden, dictated by the ſenate of Stockholm. It contained propoſals of accommodation, to which his Majeſty replied, that from regard to his ſiſter, he was willing to forget the unjuſt proceedings of the Swedes. The plenipotentiaries of the two courts met at Hamburgh, and there concluded a treaty, by which the affairs of Pomerania were placed on their ancient footing.

Tranſactions with the Turks and Tartars.

The alliance with Ruſſia, how advantageous ſoever in other reſpects, diſconcerted the king's negotiations with the Turks and Tartars, who, accuſtomed to the ſtability of oriental politics, could not comprehend how Frederick, after urging them for many years to declare war againſt the court of St. Peterſburgh, ſhould now offer his good offices to accommodate all differences between them and that court. "You now deſire us," they ſaid, "to invade the dominions of the Empreſs Queen; but what aſſurance can we have, that in the courſe of a few months, you may not be equally ſolicitous to accommodate our differences with that princeſs? Caution requires, that we ſhould diſtruſt your overtures, leſt, by embracing them too eaſily, we render ourſelves the ſport of your fickleneſs." Frederick anſwered theſe arguments by facts. At his deſire, Peter III. removed all ground of jealouſy in the Khan reſpecting the fortreſs St. Anne; and his Imperial majeſty alſo made a formal declaration to the Porte, that ſhould the Sultan invade the territories of Maria Thereſa, that princeſs would not receive any aſſiſtance from Ruſſia. Theſe meaſures made a conſiderable impreſſion both on the Sultan and on the Khan; and their favourable diſpoſition towards Frederick might have ripened into effective aid, when a new revolution in Ruſſia replunged them into aſtoniſhment and diſtruſt.

The family compact, December 1761;

The ſame winter which had given Frederick a powerful and zealous ally, ſtirred up againſt England a new and implacable adverſary. By the famous family compact, the whole Houſe of Bourbon, France, Spain, Naples, and Parma, were united in the ſtricteſt bonds of intereſt and amity. In carrying on the war, their reſpective loſſes and gains were to be conſidered as common to them all; and Spain was to invade the kingdom of Portugal, with which ſhe had no ground of quarrel (except that Portugal was in alliance with England), in order to compenſate, by the conqueſt of that territory, for the poſſeſſions which France had loſt in America and the Indies.

which alarms England, and occaſions a rupture between that court and Frederick.

Alarmed by this formidable confederacy, the miniſters of George III. had recourſe to fruitleſs negotiations; and deceived by the fond hope of eſtabliſhing a general peace, which could only be effected by the moſt vigorous exertions by ſea and land, they ſecretly applied to Peter III. promiſing to enforce whatever terms he might think proper to exact from the king of Pruſſia, provided he kept his army in the field againſt that prince. Peter, whoſe character and views England had taken little pains to diſcover, anſwered this propoſal in the ſtrain of indignation that would have become a Pruſſian patriot, and immediately communicated to Frederick the diſpatches of the Ruſſian envoy at the court of London, in order to ſhew that prince the treachery of his Engliſh allies. Thus ſhamefully repulſed at St. Peterſburgh, the Engliſh miniſtry next applied to the court of Vienna, and offered the ſpoils of his Pruſſian majeſty to Maria Thereſa, with the ſame liberality that they had offered them to the Czar. But unfortunately for their machinations, prince Kaunitz miſtook their drift; and ſuſpecting that their ſole aim was to embroil France and Auſtria, replied to their overtures with the pride and diſdain of an Imperial miniſter, "that his miſtreſs was ſufficiently powerful to maintain her own pretenſions, and would greatly deſcend from her dignity by accepting any peace of which England was the mediator." It is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that the ſubſidy which had been hitherto paid to Frederick by Great Britain, was thenceforth withheld.

His plan for the campaign 1762.

Notwithſtanding what his Pruſſian majeſty calls the defection and perfidy of his Engliſh allies, the fortunate revolution in Ruſſia entitled him to form the project of an extenſive and brilliant campaign. During the laſt ſeaſon, he had been obliged to ſtand on his defence; but he now determined to ſend a ſtrong detachment to Coſel in Upper Sileſia, which might haraſs the frontiers of Moravia, and be ready to aſſiſt the Tartars in ravaging Hungary. By employing a detachment in that quarter, he would likewiſe oblige Mr. Daun, who was encamped on the heights of Kunzendorf with 70,000 (beſides 10,000 which garriſoned Schweidnitz, and 8000 which guarded the gorges of Wartha and Silverberg), to weaken his great army to ſuch a degree, that the Pruſſians would be enabled to turn all his poſts, and either to bring him to an engagement, or compel him to retreat into Bohemia. After defeating or repelling mareſchal Daun, the king might inveſt or aſſault Schweidnitz, and having recovered that place, and re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in Sileſia, he would then be at liberty to reinforce prince Henry in Saxony, and to employ their united ſtrength in regaining poſſeſſion of Dreſden.

Succeſſful operations of the Pruſſians in Sileſia, May and June 1762.

In the months of April and May, his forces moved from their reſpective quarters, and without being moleſted by the enemy, rendezvouſed in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw. They amounted to 66,000 ſoldiers. The expected reinforcement of Ruſſians under Czernichef exceeded 20,000 men; ſo that after detaching Mr. Werner with twenty regiments to Coſel, the Pruſſians would ſtill remain ſuperior to the enemy. The prince of Bevern and Mr. Mæring ſoon followed Mr. Werner; and Mr. Daun detached general Beck with a great body of men to protect the frontiers of Hungary and Moravia; a meaſure which tended to facilitate the execution of the plan which his Majeſty had formed. As the ſucceſs of the Pruſſian operations depended on concealing their drift from the enemy, the king ſtrengthened his detachments of cavalry to ſuch a degree as gave them a decided ſuperiority over the Auſtrians. The latter were defeated in every encounter, and ſo much intimidated by their

repeated

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repeated diſtaſters, that they finally declined to go forth in ſmall parties for diſcovery, and ſeldom adventured far beyond their grand guards. The Pruſſians were cantoned on both ſides of the Lohe; their head quarters at Bettlern. Their advanced bodies of cavalry reſembled a line of circumvallation around the Imperial camp at Domanz; the whole army could be aſſembled in ſix hours; Daun had two marches to perform, in order to advance to the Lohe; and his camp was yet ſo near to the Pruſſians, that none of his motions could eſcape their obſervation.

Frederick being joined by his Ruſſian auxiliaries, meditates a great project, June 1762.

The king delayed to carry his main deſign into execution, till the arrival of the Ruſſians under Czernichef, who paſſed the Oder the 20th of June, and advanced that day to Liſſa. Frederick had detached Mr. Wied beyond the river Schweidnitz, under pretence of eſcorting the Ruſſians, but chiefly with a deſign to turn Mr. Daun's left at Pitſchenberg, and gain poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſt at Kunzendorf, in the rear of the enemy. The mareſchal, diſcerning this intention, decamped in the night, and poſted himſelf on the mountains between Kunzendorf and Bægendorf. The king followed him cloſely, and reſumed his ancient poſition at Bunzelwitz; and his light troops advanced within piſtol-ſhot of the grand guard of the Imperialiſts. Mr. Reizenſtein occupied the heights of Striegau, and covered Mr. Wied, who cantoned his troops in and around that village. By a ſeries of well-concerted marches and manœuvres, Frederick gradually removed the Auſtrians from Schweidnitz, and obliged them to tranſport their great magazine from Braunau in Bohemia, to Sharfeneck in the county of Glatz. The Coſſacks, who had accompanied Mr. Czernichef, carried devaſtation and terror to the gates of Prague, and if their deſultory fury had not been reſtrained by avarice, which made them ſucceſſively withdraw in eight days from Bohemia to ſell their booty in Poland, Mr. Serbelloni, who commanded the Auſtrians in Saxony, muſt have quitted that electorate with his army, in order to put an end to the cruel ravages of thoſe mercileſs barbarians, who marked their path in Bohemia with lines of fire and blood. The king, meanwhile, prepared to diſlodge the Auſtrians from Buckerdſdorf and Leutmendſdorf, which would have effectually cut off their communication with Schweidnitz. But this deſign, which the aſſiſtance of the Ruſſians rendered eaſy of execution, became almoſt impracticable through one of thoſe events which confound the projects of human wiſdom.

Cauſes of a new revolution in Ruſſia;

Peter III. had hardly mounted the throne of Ruſſia, when he began to introduce important innovations in the internal government of that empire. According to the ſyſtem of Peter I. he ſet himſelf to oppoſe the exorbitant pretenſions of the clergy, and ventured to appropriate their poſſeſſions; but unfortunately for the ſucceſs of this plan, the Ruſſians felt nothing of that reſpect for Peter III. which had been excited by the public virtues of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. Domineered by the terrors of ſuperſtition, they valued their prieſts more than their prince; and the prieſts, domineered by the paſſion which uſually enſlaves their order, valued their revenues more than the opinions which they taught. To this cauſe of diſguſt, Peter added the imprudence of introducing too haſtily the rigours of German diſcipline into the Iſmailof and Preobrazinſky guards, thoſe licentious and haughty pretorians, who, as they ſurrounded the throne, thought themſelves entitled to the peculiar indulgence of the ſovereign. Not ſatisfied with theſe dangerous meaſures (ſalutary indeed in their principle but highly unſeaſonable at that juncture), Peter determined to make war againſt Denmark, the hereditary foe of his anceſtors the dukes of Holſtein, but with whom the Ruſſians had not any cauſe of quarrel. Theſe grievances laid the foundation for a conſpiracy againſt his life, which threatened him for ſeveral months, before it finally overwhelmed him.

His Pruſſian Majeſty, moved by friendſhip and gratitude towards this amiable but ill-adviſed prince, ventured, in the moſt delicate manner, to warn him of his danger. Peter anſwered his letter in the following terms: "My glory requires that I ſhould puniſh the Danes for the injuries which they have done myſelf and my anceſtors.

which Frederick endeavours to prevent.

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With regard to my perſonal ſafety, there is not any reaſon to be alarmed. The ſoldiers call me their father, and ſay that they like better to be governed by a man than by a woman. I walk the ſtreets of Peterſburg on foot, and alone: I do good to all my ſubjects, truſt in God, and fear nothing." This anſwer did not hinder the king from renewing the ſame advice, by means of his agents, Meſſrs. Golz and Schwerin, until Peter one day intreated them to have done, and never again to mention a ſubject which was altogether odious to him.

Peter III. dethroned, and the Ruſſian troops commanded to quit Frederick's camp, July 1762.

This fatal ſecurity precipitated the meaſures of his enemies. At the moment when Frederick moſt needed the aſſiſtance of his new allies, Mr. Czernichef came to tell him that Peter III. had been dethroned by his ſpouſe, and that he himſelf had been ordered to withdraw his troops from the Pruſſian army, and to retire towards Poland. The news from Pruſſia and Pomerania ſoon confirmed thoſe events in a manner the moſt alarming. The Empreſs Catharine had ſeized the kingdom of Pruſſia, and appropriated its revenues. An edict appeared in which Frederick was treated as the hereditary and irreconcilable enemy of Ruſſia; and orders had been ſent to the Ruſſian generals on the frontiers, to hold themſelves in readineſs for recommencing hoſtilities againſt that prince. Theſe violent ſteps had been taken by Catharine, on a ſuppoſition that his Pruſſian majeſty, being appriſed of the detention of Peter III. would compel Czernicſief to declare in favour of that unfortunate monarch; and in caſe of refuſal, would either retain or diſarm the forces which he commanded. But Frederick, inſtead of embracing any ſuch meaſures, made not the ſmalleſt oppoſition to Czernichef's departure; the only favour that he aſked was to defer it three days, to which requeſt that general readily conſented.

Frederick's admirable addreſs in profiting of the ſtay of the Ruſſians for recovering poſſeſſion of Sileſia, September 1762.

Theſe three days were precious. The Auſtrian generals were ſtill unacquainted with the revolution in Ruſſia. His Majeſty therefore availed himſelf of the reſpect inſpired by the allies, who were ready to become his enemies, for turning Mr. Daun's camp, and for obliging him to retire from Dilmanſdorf

CHAP. V.

Dilmanſdorf to Waſten Walterſdorf on the Eule. This operation paved the way for the ſiege of Schweidnitz; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the ſame day on which the Auſtrians removed from the neighbourhood of that place, the Ruſſians, whoſe continuance with the king had no ſmall influence in occaſioning their retreat, retired themſelves towards the Poliſh frontiers. An army of twenty-four battalions and thirty ſquadrons, deſtined for carrying on the ſiege of Schweidnitz, aſſembled at the foot of the mountains of Kunzendorf. To cover the ſiege, the king ſtill needed a powerful reinforcement; he therefore recalled the detachments from Upper Sileſia and Moravia, which could not be employed there or in Hungary with much effect, becauſe the ſudden revolutions in Ruſſia had ſo much perplexed the ignorance of the Tartars, that no aſſiſtance was to be expected from them in making a diverſion on that ſide. Having defeated Mr. Daun's attempts for ſuccouring Schweidnitz, and obliged him by the judicious diſpoſition of the Pruſſian poſts to remain inactive at Scharfenec, his Majeſty ſat down before that ſtrong city the 20th September.

tember. Mr. Guaſco the governor ſoon craved leave to capitulate, which the king refuſed, becauſe the preceding year Mr. Laudohn had ſaid in a letter reſpecting the exchange of priſoners, that the Empreſs Queen thought herſelf diſpenſed from fulfilling any engagement with the king of Pruſſia. Frederick, beſides, was unwilling to allow 10,000 men to eſcape from a place which he was ſure of taking ſoon, becauſe their proviſions had already become ſcarce, and moſt of their batteries were diſmounted. A bomb, which blew up a powder magazine in the fort of Jauernick, haſtened the ſurrender of Schweidnitz. The garriſon was ſent into Pruſſia; the prince of Bevern was entruſted with the command in Sileſia; and the king, having thus recovered that valuable province, prepared to march into Saxony, in order to co-operate with his brother prince Henry.

Prince Henry's ſucceſſes in Saxony, October 1762.

Before his Majeſty's arrival in that electorate, the fortune of the campaign was already decided. Prince Henry, by a ſingular and happy mixture of prudence and boldneſs, had generally prevailed over the ſuperior numbers of the Auſtrians and troops of the Circles, reſpectively commanded by Mr. Serbelloni and the prince of Stolberg. The former was recalled with diſgrace; and Mr. Haddick ſucceeded to the command with no better fortune, ſince, ſoon after his appointment, his allies were defeated in the battle of Freyberg, the 29th of October, with the loſs of 8000 men, and he himſelf was obliged to retreat.

Frederick's boldneſs intimidates all his enemies.

Not ſatisfied with recovering his conqueſts in Saxony and Sileſia, the king, who had by this time arrived at Meiſſen, and who knew that the beſt expedient for procuring an honourable peace, was to proſecute the war with undiminiſhed vigour, ſent detachments to ravage the frontiers of Bohemia. Other detachments invaded the territories of the empire, took Bamberg, threatened Nurenburgh, and ſpread terror to the gates of Ratiſbon. The diet was diſturbed in its deliberations; ſeveral deputies fled; the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, as well as the biſhops of Bamberg and Wurzberg, craved peace, and promiſed to withdraw their troops from the army of the Circles.

Prince Ferdinand triumphs over the mareſchals Soubiſe and D'Etrees.

During theſe bold and ſucceſsful operations of the Pruſſians, their allies alſo were ſucceſsful. In the Upper Rhine and in the Lower Saxony, the bravery and ſkill of prince Ferdinand had triumphed over the mareſchals Soubiſe and D'Etrees, who, inſtead of conquering the electorate of Hanover, were driven from the landgraviate of Heſſe. But Frederick had little reaſon to rejoice at the proſperity of his Engliſh confederates, who, in their negotiations carrying forward for peace, ſo totally abandoned all concern for his intereſt, that they conſented to allow the French to retain poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Cleves and the principality of Guelderland.

Auguſtus III. king of Poland ſends to crave peace for Maria Thereſa and himſelf.

The preliminaries of peace were ſigned at Paris between France and England, the 3d November 1762; and the Pruſſian troops had ſcarcely begun to enter into their cantonments, when Mr. Fritſch, who was counſellor to the king of Poland, arrived at Meiſſen, Frederick's head quarters. As

Fritſch poſſeſſed lands in that neighbourhood, his arrival did not excite much attention. Having obtained an audience of his Majeſty, he began to expatiate on the advantages of peace and the inconveniences of war; and, after exhauſting theſe common topics, expreſſed his happineſs in thinking that the proſpect of peace was not very remote; and that he himſelf had been intruſted with a very important commiſſion; which he only delayed to explain, until he was ſure that it would be favourably received. Frederick replied, that it depended not on himſelf to terminate the troubles of Germany, but on thoſe who firſt excited, and who had hitherto fomented them; and whoſe implacable animoſity ſeemed to ſtrengthen by reſiſtance, and harden by oppoſition. Mr. Fritſch then preſented to the king a letter from Auguſtus III. ſignifying his ſincere deſire of peace, and his zealous endeavours to promote it. "He had ſounded the intentions of the Empreſs Queen, and found her favourably diſpoſed to that meaſure. The concurrence of his Pruſſian Majeſty, therefore, was alone wanting to conclude the ſalutary work which they had ſo much at heart."

Frederick's reaſons for believing that the Empreſs was ſincere.

After reading this letter, Frederick obſerved, that as it was uſual for powers at war to negotiate peace at the ſame time with their allies, he could hardly believe that her Imperial Majeſty was ſincere. Yet, that he might never have any reaſon for ſelf-reproach, he was willing to prevent the renewal of hoſtilities, by deſiſting from his juſt demands of indemnification for the cruelties and ravages committed in his dominions, provided that his enemies agreed to follow this example of moderation; but that he was firmly determined not to loſe, by a ſtroke of the pen, what he had hitherto defended by the ſword, and what he was ſtill able to defend more vigorouſly than ever. To convince Frederick of the ſincerity of the Empreſs, Mr. Fritſch acquainted his Majeſty with a piece of intelligence that had been communicated to Auguſtus III. by Mr. Saul, a Saxon agent at the court of Vienna. That agent, it was ſaid, had been aſſured by prince Kaunitz, that the Empreſs was ſo deſirous of terminating the war, that ſhe had already applied to Frederick for that purpoſe, through the mediation of the courts both of France and England; and had been juſtified in re-commencing hoſtilities by his refuſal, on both occaſions, to liſten to any reaſonable terms of accommodation. Theſe aſſertions were totally falſe; and although the king could not have any confidence in a negotiation begun by a lie, the ſituation of affairs inclined him to believe what the prepoſterous conduct of his enemies would have made him reject with ſcorn. The terror of the princes of the empire, the defection of the Swedes and Ruſſians, an hundred thouſand Turks, who covered the frontiers of Hungary—theſe were arguments fitted to inſpire Maria Thereſa with the deſire of peace. The internal ſtate of her dominions ſuggeſted motives conſpiring to the ſame end, and not leſs cogent. The diſcouragement produced by the diſaſters of the laſt campaign; the difficulty of raiſing money for the expence of the war, miſunderſtandings between her generals, diſguſts among her miniſters, the declining health of the emperor, diſſenſions in his family, and perhaps this problem, whether, after failing to cruſh the king of Pruſſia, with the aſſiſtance of a numerous confederacy, ſhe was likely to accompliſh that undertaking when deſerted by all her allies. The city of Dreſden was ill provided; the magazines of Bohemia were empty; in the enſuing campaign, Dreſden would probably be taken, and Bohemia would probably be rendered the theatre of war. Theſe conſiderations having convinced his Pruſſian Majeſty that in their application for peace his enemies were ſincere, he diſpatched Mr. Fritſch with a favourable anſwer; and patiently waiting the event of this negotiation, departed from Meiſſen to viſit the cordon of troops which he had eſtabliſhed along the frontiers of Bohemia and the Empire; and then returned towards Leipſic, where he took up his winter quarters.

Frederick dictates the terms of the peace of Hubertſbourg in Saxony, concluded February 15, 1763.

His Majeſty had not remained many days in that city, when Mr. Fritſch returned with the anſwer of the court of Vienna, couched in the enigmatical obſcurity and emphatic haughtineſs of prince Kaunitz, but copiouſly explained by a long letter of count Flemming, the Saxon mini-

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ſter at the Imperial court. On the 1ſt of December a congreſs was held at Hubertſbourg in Saxony, for ſettling the terms of peace; and with a view to maintain perfect equality between the contracting powers, that town was declared neutral, together with its dependent diſtrict: Mr. Collenbach acted as Auſtrian plenipotentiary; and the learned and virtuous count Herzberg repreſented the king of Pruſſia. The former condeſcended to make the firſt propoſals in the name of the Empreſs Queen; and as many of his clauſes were extremely captious, Frederick, who always directed the proceedings of his miniſters, enjoyed an opportunity of proving that his addreſs in negotiation equalled his abilities in war. An event happened which much facilitated his ſucceſs. From motives of œconomy, the Britiſh miniſters diſbanded a body of 3000 light troops, who had ſerved under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick. Frederick took theſe men into his pay, reinforced them with Bauer's dragoons, and Brunſwick volunteers; and the whole detachment, exceeding 5000 ſoldiers, had orders to move towards the frontiers of the dutchy of Cleves. This meaſure cauſed an agitation as violent as it was extenſive. The French trembled for Flanders and Brabant; the Auſtrians ſent 10,000 men to the banks of the Rhine; the council of Hanover, who knew the diſguſts between Frederick and George III. ſuſpected that the former prince meant to invade their electorate; and the court of England, ſuppoſing that the Pruſſians intended to ſeize Munſter, doubled the garriſon of that city, and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the ſubjects of his Pruſſian Majeſty from entering within its walls. By means of the duke of Nivernois, the French negotiated with England a treaty of neutrality for Flanders; and in return for the guarantee of their dominions in that country, promiſed to reſign the places belonging to his Pruſſian Majeſty, which had been conquered from his allies. Thus the movement of a ſmall body of troops, by which Frederick meant only to ſurpriſe the garriſon of Weſel, diffuſed a general alarm through Europe, and inſured the ſpeedy concluſion of an advantageous and honourable peace. An amneſty of paſt hoſtilities, the renewal of the treaty of

Weſtphalia, and a complete reſtitution of all the places and priſoners taken during the war, formed the broad and ſolid baſis of the peace of Hubertſbourg; by which the king of Poland was the greateſt gainer, ſince he thereby recovered poſſeſſion of his electorate of Saxony.

Cauſes of Frederick's ſucceſs in this unequal

Thus ended the ſeptennial war, which had coſt Pruſſia 180,000 men; Auſtria and Ruſſia an equal, France and England reſpectively a ſtill greater, number. In this long and unequal conflict, Pruſſia had reſiſted the three great military powers of Europe, France, Auſtria, and Ruſſia, reinforced by the troops of the Circles, of Saxony, and of Sweden. The ſucceſs of this ſeemingly impracticable undertaking, in which had Frederick failed, his name would have been numbered with the wildeſt names in romance, was facilitated by the following circumſtances; the timid and intereſted caution of the Auſtrian generals, who, while they ſpared their own troops, diſguſted their allies by continually expoſing them to enterpriſes of difficulty and poſts of danger; the ſeaſonable demiſe of the Empreſs Elizabeth, which converted Ruſſia from an implacable enemy into an uſeful auxiliary; the patriotic zeal of the Pruſſian ſubjects, and the diſciplined bravery of the Pruſſian troops; above all, the king's incomparable conduct, and invincible courage, his cool combination and ardent execution.

How its expence was defrayed.

Towards defraying the expences of this memorable war, Frederick derived only four millions of crowns annually, from provinces conquered or exhauſted by the firſt invaſions of his multiplied enemies. The yearly ſubſidies granted him by England, originally four millions of crowns, were afterwards doubled. The contributions raiſed on Saxony exceeded ſix millions; and theſe expedients for raiſing money, which his Majeſty declares highly repugnant to his ſentiments and extremely derogatory to his honour, were followed by others ſtill more blamable; and which nothing but "the great law of ſaving the ſtate," a law which in his opinion ſilenced every other, could have perſuaded him to ~~adopt~~. His mint was let in farm with permiſſion to diminiſh the value of the ſpecie by one half. This contrivance produced

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ſeven millions of crowns; at the ſame time that all penſions and emoluments ariſing from the civil liſt, were diverted from their ordinary purpoſe, and employed as a military fund. The aggregate of theſe ſums, amounting to about four millions ſterling of bad ſpecie, ſufficed, under Frederick's management, for defending the Pruſſian monarchy againſt the moſt powerful confederacy ever formed in Europe.

His diſcerning bounty ſpeedily repairs the calamities of ſeven ſucceſſive campaigns.

At the concluſion of the war, that provident prince had one year's revenue in his treaſury: Auſtria had borrowed 100,000,000 of crowns: England was half ruined by its victories; and France, in which the pilfering arts of the financier have aſſumed the pomp of ſcience, ſtopped payment of the intereſt of its enormous debts, and prolonged for the term of ten years its oppreſſive and arbitrary taxes. Upon the firſt ceſſation of hoſtilities, the reſerved wealth of his Pruſſian Majeſty was moſt ſeaſonably employed in healing the wounds of the ſtate. Corn, horſes, and the inſtruments of agriculture, were diſtributed among his diſtreſſed peaſants. Beſides theſe well-choſen donatives, which extended to all univerſally, Sileſia received in money 3,000,000 of crowns, Pomerania 1,400,000, Pruſſia 800,000, Brandenburgh 700,000; and the dutchy of Cleves 100,000. In the remaining provinces of the monarchy, the taxes were lowered by one half. Theſe liberal and well-timed encouragements revived the ſpirits of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and being accompanied by ſome peculiar circumſtances, which ſhall be explained in the following chapter, excited ſuch vigorous exertions of productive induſtry, that the calamities of ſeven ſucceſſive campaigns were completely repaired, and even ſpeedily forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Domeſtic improvements from 1763 to 1770. Death of the king of Poland, and ſtate of that country. Politics of Ruſſia. State of Europe. Saldern's negotiation. Convention between Pruſſia and Ruſſia for ſupporting the Poliſh diſſidents. Frederick's interview with the Emperor Joſeph. War between the Turks and Ruſſians. The treaty of partition, to which Frederick's dexterity makes Auſtria accede. Revolution in Sweden. Frederick prevents a war between that country and Denmark. State of the latter kingdom. The diviſion of Poland. Peace concluded between the Turks and Ruſſians. Settlement of Poland. Improvements made by Frederick in his new acquiſition.

Frederick diſcharges the public debts, and improves his

IN the ſeptennial war, the moſt memorable in modern hiſtory, Frederick had often experienced that boldneſs is the greateſt prudence; and during the long peace which followed, his government illuſtrated a truth not leſs important, that, in national concerns, generoſity is the beſt œconomy. In the firſt year of peace, the bad money was recoined; the national creditors were ſatisfied; thirty thouſand ſoldiers were reſtored to agriculture; induſtry was revived; and the revenue was again rendered productive by employing Frenchmen in that department. But Frederick, while he availed himſelf of their experience, effectually prevented their tyranny. The public reſources continued ſubject to his own adminiſtration, and were not let in farm, which is the practice in France; and of all practices the moſt oppreſſive, as financiers in that kingdom are of all men the moſt odious.

revenues, 1763 and 1764.

With an increaſing income, that great prince continued to live with the ſimplicity of a private gentleman. The money raiſed from the public was employed to enrich or adorn the community; to rebuild ruined towns, to improve waſte lands, to ſettle new colonies, to introduce new manufactures, to interſect his dominions by navigable canals, wherever that was practicable, and particularly by cutting the great canal of Bromberg,

Introduces new manufactures, and eſtabliſhes a bank.

Bromberg, which joins the Viſtula to the Oder. For ſuch ſalutary purpoſes, Frederick continued annually to diſburſe the ſum of near 400,000 pounds ſterling. Within ten years after the peace of Hubertſbourg, he had introduced two hundred and ſixty-four new manufactures; and diſdaining the prejudices entertained by the Germans againſt paper-money, he advanced 800,000 crowns to eſtabliſh a bank at Berlin, which anſwered the double purpoſe of circulation and depoſit. Formerly, the property of minors had been entruſted to the courts of juſtice, which obliged them to pay one *per cent.* for taking care of their property; but the bank, on the contrary, allowed them three *per cent.* intereſt, by which means they benefited four *per cent.* on the amount of their capitals.

Remunerates thoſe who had ſuffered by exerting themſelves in the public cauſe.

During the long courſe of an unequal warfare, the patriotic zeal of the Pruſſians had reſiſted foreign domination with the moſt pertinacious obſtinacy; and to Frederick it ſeemed reaſonable and juſt, that upon the return of peace, the places which had ſuffered the moſt in the public cauſe, ſhould alſo be particularly remunerated. To reward their exemplary fidelity, Landſhut received 200,000 crowns; Striegau 40,000; Hall 40,000; Croſſen 24,000; Halberſtadt 40,000; Minden 20,000; Bielefield 15,000; and the villages of Hohenſtein 13,000 crowns. By theſe liberal encouragements, and his unexampled attention to an object which we proceed next to explain, Frederick's enlightened policy repaired in a few years evils ſimilar to thoſe which the ambition of Charles XII. and Lewis XIV. occaſioned to their reſpective kingdoms, and which, as no Frederick has yet ariſen in thoſe countries, both France and Sweden ſtill feel and lament.

His enlightened principles of political œconomy.

Though his Majeſty well knew that productive induſtry forms the wealth of a country, he was far from imagining thoſe trades always the beſt, which produce the moſt money. It was not the work done, but the advantage, which, in doing it, reſulted to the body and mind of the workman, that chiefly engroſſed his attention. In this reſpect, he perceived that great differences obtained in populouſneſs and proſperity,

rity, according to the various employments of agriculture and manufactures; and that even in agriculture, greater exertions and purer manners might be expected from men who cultivate corn, than from thoſe who cultivate the wine; and that in manufactures, the hardy workmen in wood and metal ſupplied very different citizens and very different ſoldiers, from thoſe furniſhed by the mechanical operations of ſedentary drudgery. In the modern ſyſtems of political œconomy, the ſhort-ſightedneſs of avarice regards nothing but the labour effected; and whether it be effected by machines, or by men little better than machines, appears a matter of ſmall moment. But Frederick having provided amply for the ſubſiſtence and defence of his ſubjects, thought he had yet done nothing for their happineſs, unleſs he improved their phyſical and moral ſtate, procured them rational enjoyments, trained them to virtuous habits, and directed them to uſeful and honourable purſuits. His ſucceſsful attention to thoſe important concerns, an attention unexampled in modern times, we ſhall ~~have~~ occaſion fully to explain, in analyſing that complicated ſyſtem of national proſperity, which was not completely eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, till towards the æra of his demiſe; confining ourſelves at preſent to his rural œconomy and his army, objects which attained the utmoſt perfection of which they are ſuſceptible, in the period which elapſed between the peace of Hubertſbourg and the partition of Poland.

Improvements in agriculture, 1764—1771.

In imitation of the great conquerors and civilizers of Europe, Frederick borrowed from neighbouring nations the inſtitutions in which they reſpectively excelled. In rural œconomy, England, of courſe, formed his principal model; and when he divided the extenſive commons in Pruſſia and Pomerania, he thought that a German prince who followed the example of a Britiſh parliament, could not be accuſed of deſpotiſm. Yet this accuſation was made and repeated, until the benefits of his regulations began to be ſenſibly felt by thoſe who had moſt loudly condemned them.

New diſtribution of landed property

In Sileſia, the nobles having gradually purchaſed the lands of their vaſſals, many peaſants left their country, and thoſe who remained, felt but little attachment to a province in which they enjoyed not any property. Alarmed by this circumſtance, Frederick aſſembled the nobles, explained to them their true intereſt, and convinced them that lands are valuable in proportion to the labour of thoſe who cultivate them, and the wealth of thoſe who conſume their fruits. The Sileſian nobles yielded to his arguments and authority; the peaſants were re-eſtabliſhed in their hereditary poſſeſſions; and in return for their readineſs in conſenting to this meaſure, which greatly benefited Sileſia, Frederick advanced 300,000 crowns towards defraying the debts of the nobility, which had been contracted before and during the war; and the courts of juſtice allowed them a reſpite of two years from the importunity of their creditors. But this laſt meaſure being found by experience totally ſubverſive of their credit, Frederick aſſembled the whole order of nobles, who engaged their united ſecurity for the payment of theſe debts, amounting to twenty-five millions of crowns. As ſpecie was wanting to liquidate this vaſt ſum, ~~his~~ Majeſty created twenty ~~millions~~ of paper money;

Pays the debts of his nobles.

money; and having paid in ſpecie, from his private treaſury, ſuch claims are were moſt urgent, thus ſaved four hundred families of diſtinction from ignominy and indigence. In Pomerania, and the new march of Brandenburgh, the ſame diſcerning generoſity produced the ſame ſalutary effects. Towards liquidating the debts of the nobles in thoſe provinces, Frederick advanced five hundred thouſand crowns; and beſtowed an equal ſum towards enabling them to improve their lands to the beſt advantage.

Regulations reſpecting the foreſts.

It was not in thoſe great operations alone that Frederick diſtinguiſhed his vigilance. A prince, he obſerves, ought to reſemble the lance of Achilles, which cured the wounds that it inflicted; and the loſſes, which the war had occaſioned, whether great or ſmall, he thought it his duty to repair. Amidſt the calamities of ſeven ſucceſſive campaigns, the foreſts had been ruined by the depredations of the enemy, and ſometimes by the rapacity of the foreſters, who, in concert with inferior officers of the revenue, cut down and ſold the trees for their own benefit. To remedy this evil, peculiarly alarming in northern countries, where the cheapneſs of fuel is eſſentially requiſite to national proſperity, Frederick iſſued ſtrict and effectual orders, which he took care ſhould be ſcrupulouſly executed. A duty likewiſe was impoſed on all foreign timber that floated down the Elbe and the Oder, by which means the Pruſſians obtained this article at an eaſy price from Poland, Bohemia, and Saxony; and while they allowed their own woods time to grow, not only ſupplied themſelves abundantly for immediate uſe, but ſold great quantities of timber to the commercial cities both on the Baltic and on the ocean.

New modes of improving the ſoil.

In the Pruſſian dominions, the king poſſeſſed in *demeſne*, almoſt a third part of his whole territory. The moſt valuable portion of the revenues aroſe from the rents of theſe royal lands, termed bailiwicks; which his Majeſty began to divide into ſmall hereditary farms, as more conducive to the ſtrength of his kingdom, and the happineſs of his ſubjects; and while he thus improved the diſtribution of his domains, he was equally attentive to improve th[illegible] Brandenburgh abounded with ſandy hillocks, unmixed with loam, deſtitute of moiſture, and long condemned to invincible barrenneſs. An Engliſh farmer undertook to cultivate this ſeemingly ungrateful ſubject. His firſt experiments were made with the crown lands. He planted them with turnips, which being allowed to rot on the ground, furniſhed a vegetable mould ſufficient for the nouriſhment of trefoil, lucerne, and other kinds of graſs, till then unknown in Germany. The unexpected ſucceſs of his undertaking rendered the ſame practice univerſal; and the quantity of cattle was thus augmented by one-third at leaſt, on almoſt every farm.

Recruits his army.

Theſe multiplied objects could not engroſs Frederick's capacious mind, in which, the army, that engine of defence, and inſtrument of glory, ſtill occupied its due place. Seventeen pitched battles, and almoſt as many encounters equally bloody; three cities beſieged, and five defended; 1500 officers killed in battle; the hoſpitals crowded with the ſick and wounded—had reduced the regiments of infantry to about an hundred men in each regiment. The great deſtruction of officers obliged his Majeſty to be leſs delicate than uſual in their appointment; and many perſons of ignoble extraction were honoured with commiſſions. But of this meaſure the king ſoon diſcovered the inconvenience; "for though diſtinguiſhed abilities (he obſerves) obliterate the diſtinctions of rank, and illuſtrious genius towers above the exaltation of princes, yet, in general, men of noble birth are more univerſally governed by the principle of honour, and therefore better officers, becauſe, if they loſe their honour, they loſe their all, and would no longer find a refuge even in the family-manſion; whereas the ſon of a tradeſman, after incurring the diſpleaſure of his ſuperiors, and the contempt of his equals, returns without loſs, and almoſt without diſgrace, to the profeſſion of his father." Before the year 1770, the regiments deſtined for field ſervice were purified from theſe plebeian officers, who either retired on penſions, or went to ſerve in garriſons.

His treatiſe on tactics.

To produce uniformity and preciſion in the movements of men who might be ſoon called to act together, the different battalions, as well as ſquadrons, were grouped under general inſpections; and all of them were regularly aſſembled in the ſpring and autumn, to be harmonized to thoſe great manœuvres which decide the fortune of battles. Rules alone cannot create genius; but they may prevent dangerous errors. For this latter purpoſe, his Majeſty compoſed a treatiſe of tactics, compriſing in a narrow compaſs the precepts of offenſive and defenſive war. Manuſcript copies of this treatiſe were depoſited with the inſpectors, and by them communicated, under the ſeal of ſecreſy, to the commanders of regiments and ſquadrons; and the air of myſtery with which this valuable little work, which explains with great perſpicuity the principal diſpoſitions relative to local circumſtances, circulated from one hand to another, awakened curioſity for its contents, and ſtrongly impreſſed them on the mind.

The amount of his military ſtrength.

In the courſe of eight years, the fortified places in Sileſia and Pomerania were repaired and ſtrengthened at the expence

5,000,000 of crowns. Theſe fortreſſes, as well as the city of Magdebourgh, were ſtored with ſmall arms and artillery, and provided with magazines of corn, ſufficient to maintain for a year two armies, each of 70,000 men. When a war appeared inevitable, theſe armies were afterwards augmented to 200,000 combatants; a number great indeed: but the Pruſſian ſoldiers were citizens; they cultivated the ground, they married wives, they reared children; and, attached by the moſt endearing ties to their reſpective diſtricts, fought for their own homes as well as for the greatneſs of their monarch: And this vaſt military eſtabliſhment, expenſive as it was, ſeemed neceſſary to Frederick in the actual ſtate of Europe, both for defending his dominions, and for enabling him to profit of the firſt opportunity to extend them.

Death of the king of Poland, and ſtate of that kingdom, 1763.

This opportunity ſoon occurred. On the 4th of October 1763, died Auguſtus III. king of Poland. His ſon, who thus became elector of Saxony, ſoon followed his father to the tomb; and the grandſon of Auguſtus, who now ſucceeded to his hereditary

tary dominions, was ſtill a minor, and could not form any pretenſion to his elective kingdom of Poland. The character of the Poles, and the unſettled nature of their government, had long rendered their fertile country a tempting prize to the ambition of their neighbours; but Pruſſia was weak; Ruſſia was barbarous; and the Houſe of Auſtria was almoſt conſtantly involved in war with the Turks on one ſide, or the French on the other. The condition of neighbouring ſtates had improved; that of the Poles ſeemed continually to degenerate. Wedded to their old feudal ariſtocracy, the nobles were ſtill hoſtile to their prince, and ſtill implacable enemies to each other, agreeing in no one particular but that of univerſally treating their peaſants rather like beaſts than men. Barbarous laws were irregularly executed; government enjoyed ſcarcely any degree of coercive authority; and the character of the nation, if ſuch capricious inconſiſtency can be called *character*, was vain, frivolous, voluptuous; a mixture of profligacy and ſuperſtition; immoderately rapacious and extravagantly prodigal. Amidſt diſordered ſcenes of vice and

folly,

folly, the croſier and the diſtaff could not fail to be buſy. Prieſts caballed, women intrigued, the peaſants believed and trembled, the nobles rioted and quarrelled; and the tumultuous anarchy of the Poles, which ſhook the community with inceſſant ſtorms, threatened to rend it in pieces at the election of every new king.

Politics of the Empreſs Catharine.

In this election, the neighbouring powers, and particularly Ruſſia, which, ſince the downfal of Sweden, affected to hold the balance of the North, continually interfered; and the Empreſs Catharine, whoſe ambition yielded to that of none of her predeceſſors, and who is diſtinguiſhed above all princeſſes for the extraordinary meaſure of her royal and female gratitude, reſolved to ſet a Piaſt on the Poliſh throne, and determined that the Piaſt, ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed, ſhould be her favourite Poniatowſky. In order to inſure the ſucceſs of this project, ſhe ſtood in need of Frederick's aſſiſtance, which the ſituation of that prince with reſpect to foreign powers rendered him extremely ready to afford.

State of Europe, 1764.

Since the peace of Hubertſbourg, Pruſſia was deſtitute of allies. The circumſtances attending that tranſaction, which we have already had occaſion to explain, had converted the friendſhip of the court of London into irreconcilable enmity. The Saxons felt the animoſity of ancient rivalſhip inflamed by recent hoſtility, and embittered by the remembrance of committing unſucceſsful crimes. Denmark and Sweden were not of any account in the affairs of Europe. Auſtria had made peace from neceſſity; and her pacific profeſſions could not be truſted any longer than that neceſſity prevailed. The alliance of the *great powers* ſtill ſubſiſted in its original firmneſs; and might be ſuppoſed to remain in force, as long as its author, prince Kaunitz, who fondled it with paternal tenderneſs, governed the court of Vienna, and Mr. de Choiſeul, who had adopted the ſame ſyſtem from his natural partiality to the Houſe of Auſtria, *reigned* under the name of Miniſter at Verſailles.

Frederick enters into a treaty with

Moved by theſe conſiderations, Frederick had loſt no time in endeavouring to nego-

Ruſſia, and co-operates with that power in creating a king of Poland; 1764.

March 1764.

tiate an alliance with Ruſſia, whoſe hoſtility had greatly diſtreſſed him in the preceding war; and for facilitating that meaſure he immediately ſent inſtructions to his ambaſſador at Warſaw to co-operate in the moſt efficacious manner with the miniſters of the Empreſs Catharine. This ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in a deſign which her Imperial Majeſty had greatly at heart, haſtened the concluſion of the treaty of St. Peterſburgh; which guaranteed the reſpective poſſeſſions of the contracting parties; and ſtipulated a mutual aſſiſtance of twelve thouſand men for protecting the Poliſh diſſidents, whether proteſtants or members of the Greek church, and for raiſing Poniatowſky, Stolnic of Lithuania, to the Poliſh throne. The Pruſſian troops already hovered on the frontiers of that kingdom; and a body of 10,000 Ruſſians advanced to the neighbourhood of Warſaw. The *diet* aſſembled in May, and aſſumed the name of a *Confederacy*, in order to render ineffectual the *Nie nos vallum*, or *Liberum Veto*, by which abſurd regulation a ſingle diſſentient vote is entitled to obſtruct the reſolves of the nation. A new confederacy aſſembled in Auguſt;

Staniſlaus Poniatowſky was declared king by a majority of voices, and ſoon afterwards acknowledged as ſuch by all the powers of Europe.

September 7, 1764.

Saldern's negotiation, 1765.

In the following year, Catharine began to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of the king of Poland, and ſtill more with that of his uncles, the princes Czartorinſky, by whom he was governed. Theſe ambitious princes hoped entirely to annul the *Liberum Veto*; which abolition, conſidering their great influence in the diet, might have rendered the throne hereditary in their family; a revolution deſirable indeed to Poland, but extremely alarming to ſuch powers as expected to profit by the weakneſs of that kingdom. To remonſtrate with the brothers Czartorinſky, and to watch their deſigns, Catharine ſent to Warſaw Mr. Saldern, a miniſter vigilant, but haughty, who was deficient in addreſs, and who wanted manners. In returning from Warſaw, Saldern came to Berlin, entruſted with great projects, formed by count Panin, whoſe taſte delighted in whatever is magnificent and ſplendid. Affecting the tone of a Roman

man dictator, the Ruſſian envoy required Frederick's conſent to the acceſſion of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony, to the treaty of St. Peterſburgh; to this propoſal his Pruſſian Majeſty could not by any means agree. The treatment which he had recently received from England, made him unwilling to renew his connection with that court. Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony, could not afford any material aſſiſtance towards the deſign which he meditated; and whatever aſſiſtance they might afford, muſt be purchaſed by ſubſidies. Frederick, beſides, was unwilling that the aſcendancy which he expected to acquire over the councils of Ruſſia, ſhould be leſſened or divided by the influence of other courts. He therefore peremptorily rejected Mr. Saldern's propoſitions; and when that miniſter, believing himſelf the Prætor Popilius, took fire, and expreſſed himſelf with undue warmth, Frederick, who was not born to act the part of Antiochus, diſmiſſed him with cold indifference, declaring that he was inclined to be a friend to the Ruſſians, but that he never would conſent to become their ſlave.

The

Origin of the troubles in Poland, 1765.

The inſolence of a pragmatical envoy occaſioned not any rupture between Frederick and the Empreſs Catharine, who being cloſely united by intereſt, prepared for executing the vaſt projects which they ſecretly entertained. Catharine having declared herſelf the protectreſs of the Poliſh diſſidents, inſiſted that they ſhould not only enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, but acquire a title in common with their fellow-citizens, to hold the principal offices of ſtate. At the ſame time, the Pruſſian miniſter preſented a memorial to the diet, inſinuating that his maſter could not with indifference behold the abolition of the *Liberum Veto*, the introduction of new taxes, and the augmentation of the army of the crown. To Frederick's repreſentations, the Poles paid due deference; but the demands of the diſſidents met with a very different reception. The ſtupid enthuſiaſm of the populace was excited by the inſidious artifices of their biſhops, in whoſe dioceſes one half of the inhabitants were diſſidents, whom theſe intereſted prieſts hoped to convert, in order to double their tithes. Catharine determined to maintain the cauſe of toleration by an armed force; and Frederick was invited to co-operate towards this deſign; to which indeed he was already bound by virtue of the treaty of alliance.

Frederick propoſes an interview with the Emperor Joſeph, 1766;

Meanwhile, the emperor Francis I. died at Inſpruck in 1765, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Joſeph, who had the preceding year been crowned king of the Romans. Soon after his acceſſion, that young prince undertook a journey to Bohemia, to examine the principal ſcenes of the ſeptennial war. As he paſſed through Torgau, Frederick, who perceived how much his interference might affect the projects in agitation, made to him the overture of an interview; a meaſure ſtrongly oppoſed by Maria Thereſa and prince Kaunitz. The Emperor felt uneaſineſs at their refuſal, and took care to inſinuate to his Pruſſian Majeſty, that he would ſoon contrive ſome expedient for repairing the impropriety in point of good-breeding, which his pedagogues compelled him reluctantly to commit.

rejected by Maria Thereſa and prince Kaunitz.

Auſtria and France propoſe to take part in the affairs of Poland, 1766.

The diſſatisfaction of the Poles had by this time become univerſal. The danger, threatening the Roman Catholic religion, began to ſtir the kindred bigotry of Maria Thereſa; and the audacity of making a king of Poland without conſulting the court of France, appeared an unpardonable inſult to the pride of the duke of Choiſeul. Several bodies of Auſtrian troops already hovered on the Poliſh frontiers; and France, though reſtrained from open hoſtilities by an oppreſſive load of accumulating debts, plainly teſtified her ill-will by ſeizing every opportunity to offend the Empreſs Catharine. The title of Imperial Majeſty, which that princeſs affected, was declared by the *Academie des Quarante*, to be a ſolecism in French; a circumſtance undeſerving of notice, did it not prove by what unworthy meanneſſes reſentment will ſeek its gratification, when deprived of the power to injure.

Convention between Frederick and Catharine for ſupporting

The animoſity of France and Auſtria, which thoſe powers were not at any pains to conceal, tended only to ſtrengthen the bonds of amity between Catharine and Frederick, who the Poliſh diſſidents, 1767.

who entered into a ſecret convention for ſupporting the diſſidents, the former by an armed force, and the latter by the moſt nervous remonſtrances both to the Poles and to the court of Vienna. But ſhould that court ſend troops into Poland, it was ſtipulated that his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould then have recourſe to arms, and immediately invade Bohemia. In this invaſion, he was to be aſſiſted by the Empreſs Catharine, who, in return for his attacking the Auſtrian dominions purely on her account, engaged to procure for him a ſuitable compenſation at the end of the war. A body of Ruſſian troops having entered Poland, the diſſidents ventured to confederate for their own defence, while Frederick's miniſter at Warſaw inſiſted that they ſhould be reinſtated in all their rights, agreeably to the treaty of Oliva. An extraordinary diet was aſſembled; the biſhops of Cracow and Kiow, together with the crown-general Rezewuſky, the moſt violent abettors of perſecution, were baniſhed to Siberia; and by the influence of different miniſters from Proteſtant courts of Europe, and ſtill more by the threats of the Ruſſian troops, aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Warſaw, an act was obtained, confirming the diſſidents in the enjoyment of all their rights.

The intrigues of France, by which the flame of diſcord is extended, 1768.

The flame of diſcord, which might thus perhaps have been ſtifled, was kept alive by the intrigues of France. The emiſſaries of the duke of Choiſeul haſtened to all quarters with a mercenary diligence. Some encouraged the Poles to defend their liberty; others exhorted the Porte to reſiſt the arbitrary meaſures of a neighbouring and rival power; and a third claſs caballed at Stockholm, in order to change the eſtabliſhed government, that the king of Sweden, being rendered abſolute, might make a vigorous diverſion in Finland. In the month of March, a confederacy of the Poliſh Catholics was formed under the count Kratzinſky, which annulled the new laws, and embraced reſolutions for oppoſing the deſigns of Ruſſia, and for dethroning Poniatowſky. That prince claimed the protection of Ruſſia, which had raiſed him to the throne. The body of 10,000 Ruſſian troops already quartered in Poland, defeated the army of the confederates, purſued them to the eaſtern frontier, and burned the town of Balta, in the Turkiſh territory, in which the enemy had taken refuge. This accident the Turks conſidered as an act of hoſtility; ſhut up the ambaſſador Obreſkow in the fortreſs of the ſeven towers; and notwithſtanding the prudent admonitions of Frederick, who adviſed them not to threaten till they were able to ſtrike, declared war againſt Ruſſia.

War between the Turks and Ruſſians, 1769.

In the enſuing ſpring, the armies of both nations took the field. It was the war, ſays Frederick, of the ſhort-ſighted againſt the blind; but as the ignorance of the military art was greateſt on the ſide of the Turks, they were defeated in every encounter, and having loſt the city of Choczim, were ſtripped of the extenſive province of Moldavia. The rapid progreſs of the Ruſſians not only alarmed the enemy, but excited jealouſy in the allies of that nation. The courts of Vienna and Berlin began to feel the impreſſion of one common intereſt; and the Emperor, who had been obliged to avoid an interview with Frederick in 1766, now offered to viſit that monarch in Sileſia with the conſent both of Maria Thereſa and of prince Kaunitz.

Interview between Frederick and the Emperor, Auguſt 25, 1769.

The interview took place at Neiſſe, where the Emperor arrived under the name of count Falkenſtein. He was deſirous to keep himſelf *incognito*, and Frederick thought that he could not do him greater honour than by complying exactly with his inclinations. It was then that his Pruſſian Majeſty judged that auguſt perſonage (the firſt in rank among European princes); and the award of poſterity, founded on the actions of the Emperor Joſeph, will confirm or reverſe the ſentence. "The frankneſs which he affected, ſeemed natural to him; in his amiable character, gaiety mingled with vivacity; but though deſirous of knowledge, he wanted the patience neceſſary to attain it." The king ſaid to the Emperor, that he would regard the preſent day as the happieſt of his life, becauſe it had ſerved to unite two families, long hoſtile, but whoſe intereſt it was, mutually to ſecond each other's projects. The Emperor replied, That Sileſia exiſted no longer for the Houſe of Auſtria, but at the ſame time

inſinuated

inſinuated with abundant dexterity, that while his mother lived, he was not at liberty to act preciſely as he wiſhed; yet declared openly, that neither Maria Thereſa, nor himſelf, would ever allow the Ruſſians to retain poſſeſſion of Moldavia.

Great ſucceſs of the Ruſſians in their war with the Turks, 1770,

But the ambition of the Empreſs Catharine was not likely to reſt ſatisfied with that important conqueſt. Her ſquadrons in the Mediterranean ravaged the ſhores of Greece, purſued the enemy to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and in the channel of Scio, took, burnt, or ſunk the whole Turkiſh fleet. Count Panin, brother to the miniſter, laid ſiege to Bender, and made himſelf maſter of that city; while the victories of mareſchal Romanzow added the province of Walachia to that of Moldavia; territories embracing the whole eaſtern frontier of Tranſylvania and Hungary. Theſe multiplied ſucceſſes, which had given a very dangerous neighbour to the Houſe of Auſtria, occaſioned the forming of magazines in Hungary, and the ſending of reinforcements into the threatened provinces. They produced likewiſe a ſecond interview between

July 10;

which occaſions a ſecond

Interview between Frederick and the Emperor, September 3.

tween the Emperor, or rather between prince Kaunitz and his Pruſſian Majeſty, at Neuſtadt, in Moravia. The prince diſplayed oſtentatiouſly the ſyſtem of his court, of which he declared himſelf the author; obſerving, that the Empreſs Queen would never permit the Ruſſians to ſettle in her neighbourhood; and adding, that the union of Auſtria and Pruſſia formed the only mound fitted to reſiſt that torrent from the north, which threatened to overwhelm Europe. Frederick excuſed himſelf, by his alliance recently contracted with Ruſſia, from adopting the meaſures which the Auſtrian miniſter propoſed; but offered his beſt endeavours towards reconciling the Imperial courts, and preventing the war between the Turks and Ruſſians from involving other powers in their quarrel. As this converſation had paſſed between his Majeſty and prince Kaunitz only, the former thought handſome to communicate its purport to the Emperor, who being but little accuſtomed to ſuch marks of attention, ſeemed highly pleaſed with this inſtance of politeneſs.

By Frederick's management, the Turks prevailed on to ſolicit the mediation of the courts of Berlin and Vienna, 1770.

By ſtrongly diſſuading the war with Ruſſia, which had hitherto proved ſo unfortunate, Frederick had gained much credit with the Turks; who, at his earneſt entreaty, accepted the mediation of the court of Vienna, to which they were naturally averſe. The day following his Majeſty's conference with prince Kaunitz, a courier arrived at Neuſtadt from the Grand Seignior, inviting the courts of Berlin and Vienna to accommodate the differences ſubſiſting between the Ruſſians and the Porte. Frederick immediately complimented the Emperor and the miniſter of Maria Thereſa on that happy event, which gave them an opportunity of modelling the conditions of peace, as beſt ſuited their intereſts. The Emperor expreſſed his gratitude in warm terms; but the miniſter obſerved with affected indifference, that he much approved the ſtep taken by the Turks, but that, at bottom, never any mediation had been accepted more eagerly.

By means of his brother prince Henry,

Frederick embraced the earlieſt opportunity of communicating the propoſition of the Porte to the court of St. Peterſburgh; inſinuating, Frederick negotiates with Ruſſia, 1771.

inſinuating, that ſhould the interpoſition of Pruſſia and Auſtria be rejected, he much feared that the Turks would apply to France, a power ſtill more odious to Catharine than Auſtria itſelf. At firſt, the court of St. Peterſburgh declined the mediation offered, on pretence of having already refuſed that of England. Afterwards, a private but unſucceſsful negotiation was ſet on foot with the Turks, by means of the mareſchal Romanzow. But prince Henry of Pruſſia happening at that time to viſit his ſiſter the Queen of Sweden at Stockholm, Catharine, who had been acquainted in her youth with that prince, invited him to St. Peterſburgh. He accepted the invitation, and his dexterity ſoon acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over the mind of the Empreſs, that he perſuaded her to explain her intentions cordially to his brother. To the letter of her Imperial Majeſty, was added a long memoir, which, after a moderate and pacific preface, demanded from the Turks the city of Aſoph, with its dependant diſtrict; the two Cabardies, which compoſe the ancient Colchis; the ſequeſtration for twenty-five years of Walachia and Moldavia, in order to compenſate for the expences of the war; the free navigation of the Black Sea, together with an iſland in the Archipelago; a perpetual amneſty in favour of the Greeks, who had embraced the Ruſſian cauſe; the independence of the Khan of the Crimea, and the immediate releaſe of the Ruſſian ambaſſador from the fortreſs of the Seven Towers.

His addreſs in this negotiation, and in the mode of communicating it to the court of Vienna, 1771.

Such exorbitant pretenſions might have precipitated the court of Vienna into the moſt violent meaſures. Frederick therefore concealed from that court Catharine's demands, until he had inſinuated to the Ruſſian Empreſs, in the gentleſt terms poſſible, the difficulty of making the Grand Seignior conſent to the independence of the Tartars; the invincible obſtacles which the Auſtrians could oppoſe to the ſequeſtration of Moldavia and Walachia; and the jealouſy which her poſſeſſing an iſland in the Archipelago would create in the maritime powers of Europe. In the ſtyle of anxious friendſhip, he exhorted her to limit her demands to Colchis and Aſoph, and the free navigation of the Euxine; obſerving, that the Turks had already determined to grant an amneſty to the Greeks, and to ſet Mr. Obreſkow at liberty. Theſe repreſentations, which his Majeſty profeſſed to make, not with the ſmalleſt wiſh to prevent the aggrandiſement of Ruſſia, but with an earneſt deſire of hindering the war from becoming general, occaſioned much uneaſineſs to Catharine, who concealed not her diſappointment at finding her favourite meaſures thwarted by her beſt ally. Without any material alteration, ſhe adhered to the conditions already ſpecified, which Frederick therefore communicated to the court of Vienna, inſinuating however, that this was not the laſt word of the Ruſſians, who would doubtleſs be inclined to abate ſomewhat in thoſe articles which appeared moſt obnoxious.

The Auſtrians ſeize the diſtrict of Zips, in Poland, 1772;

This precaution was not unneceſſary. The Auſtrian troops had already marched from Flanders and Italy; and the Emperor's miniſter at Berlin had already propoſed to Frederick that, ſhould the Ruſſians be attacked in any other country but Poland, the Pruſſians ſhould ſtand neuter. Though this was poſitively refuſed, prince Kaunitz expected, by means of an armed mediation, not only to compel the Ruſſians to reſtore their conqueſts, but in return for his good offices, to recover from the Turks the provinces which Auſtria had loſt by the peace of Belgrade. Filled with theſe great projects, he ſent a body of Auſtrian troops to ſeize the Poliſh diſtrict of Zips, on the Hungarian frontier; a meaſure ſo bold, that it aſtoniſhed the court of St. Peterſburgh, and facilitated, more than any other event, the treaty for the partition of Poland, which was ſoon afterwards concluded among the three powers.

which event is the immediate cauſe of the treaty of partition

Provoked that any other troops but her own ſhould invade that country, the Empreſs Catharine ſaid to prince Henry, that ſhould the court of Vienna pretend to diſmember Poland, neighbouring ſtates muſt imitate that example; an overture made very ſeaſonably, ſince it furniſhed the only expedient for ſatisfying all parties, and preventing the outbreak of a general war in Europe. Inſtead of Moldavia and Walachia, which the Ruſſians could not expect to enjoy without defeating the Auſtrians as often as they had already defeated the Turks, the Empreſs Catharine might indemnify herſelf for the expence of the war, by appropriating that valuable ſlip of Poliſh territory, extending on the eaſtern ſide of the Druce and the Dwina, from the gulph of Riga to the Ukraine; Auſtria might exchange her lofty projects for Ladomeria and Galicia, Poliſh provinces confining on Hungary: and the king of Pruſſia might acquire Pomerellia as a compenſation for the ſubſidy of 480,000 crowns which, ſince the commencement of the Turkiſh war, he had paid the Empreſs Catharine, in lieu of the auxiliaries ſtipulated by the treaty of St. Peterſburgh. Theſe territories united, formed the materials of a conſiderable kingdom, containing about 5,000,000 of ſouls. The portion aſſigned to Ruſſia was the moſt extenſive; that claimed by Auſtria was the moſt populous; but of the three, Pomerellia, part of which had formerly been annexed to Brandenburgh, was the moſt commercial and the moſt valuable, ſince it commanded the navigation of the Viſtula; and (a circumſtance of great importance, eſpecially in time of war) joined Frederick's dutchy of Pomerania to his kingdom of Pruſſia.

between Ruſſia and Pruſſia, 1772.

The count of Solms, Pruſſian envoy at St. Peterſburgh, was deſired to examine whether, in the overture made to prince Henry, the Empreſs Catharine was ſincere. Count Panin, who at the commencement of the Poliſh troubles, had declared that Ruſſia would maintain the indiviſibility of Poland, was unwilling to ſacrifice the conſiſtency of his own character. But the Empreſs was ambitious of aggrandiſing her dominions. The courtiers and miniſters ranged themſelves on the ſide of their miſtreſs. The plan of partition was adopted by a majority of the council; and announced by count Panin to Frederick, as an expedient for indemnifying him for the ſubſidies which he had paid, and ſtill continued to pay, to Ruſſia. At the ſame time, his Majeſty was requeſted to ſound the intentions of the court of Vienna.

Frederick

Prince Kaunitz oppoſes that project, 1772.

Frederick loſt not a moment in communicating the Ruſſian project to Van Swieten, the Imperial miniſter. He told him that Ruſſia teſtified not the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs at ſeeing the Auſtrians ſeize Zips; and that as a friend to their Imperial Majeſties, he adviſed them to extend their dominions at pleaſure on that frontier; which they might do with the greater ſafety, becauſe other powers in the neighbourhood of Poland would doubtleſs embrace ſimilar meaſures. This cordial overture met with a very unexpected reception from prince Kaunitz. Filled with the moſt ſanguine hopes of regaining Servia, and perhaps part of Moldavia, by means of the alliance with the Turks, he anſwered drily, that although the court of Vienna had occupied ſome parcels of territory on the confines of Hungary, it had not been with the intention of keeping thoſe diſtricts, but merely to recover a ſum of money due to Auſtria by the Poles; and that he never could have ſuſpected ſo ſlight a matter ſhould have given riſe to a plan of partition, an enterpriſe involved in ſuch difficulties and dangers, that he adviſed his Pruſſian Majeſty

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Majeſty not by any means to abet it. He added, with an air of indifference, that the Auſtrians were ready to evacuate the diſtricts which they had occupied, on condition that other powers did the ſame; an obſervation meant as a reproach to the Ruſſians, who had long maintained troops in the territory of the Republic, and likewiſe to the Pruſſians, who had formed a cordon from Croſſen to Kænigſburgh, in order to ward off the plague, which then raged in Poland.

Frederick's hopes of ſucceſs founded on the actual ſtate of Europe.

In a matter of ſuch moment as the acquiſition of Pomerellia, Frederick was not to be diſcouraged by ſmall difficulties. Should the Empreſs Catharine's views continue to correſpond with his own, Auſtria, he foreſaw, muſt ſoon be obliged to embrace the ſame plan. By the downfal of the duke of Choiſeul, whom the chancellor Meaupoux and the dukes of Richelieu and Auguillon had ſupplanted in the favour of Lewis XV. by means of Madame Barré, the court of Vienna could no longer expect to reap the ſame advantages as formerly from the alliance of the *great powers.*

England was torn by domeſtic diſſenſions; and laying a foundation in faction at home, for a ruinous war abroad. Spain was remote, and the ſecondary powers of the North and the South had ſcarcely any influence on the general affairs of Europe.

His artifices for haſtening its happy iſſue.

Of this favourable conjuncture of circumſtances, Frederick determined to avail himſelf for bringing to a ſpeedy iſſue the buſineſs of the partition. The count of Solms was deſired to intimate to the court of St. Peterſburgh, that the project for dividing Poland had been communicated to prince Kaunitz, who had hitherto indeed avoided to explain his intentions reſpecting that ſubject, but who could not fail to co-operate with Ruſſia and Pruſſia, as ſoon as thoſe courts had adjuſted their reſpective intereſts. This political ſtratagem, Frederick endeavours to juſtify by the plea of neceſſity. There was not a moment to loſe; the Ruſſians are habitually indolent; and perhaps he would have found it impoſſible to rouſe them from their lethargy, had not prince Kaunitz reinforced the Auſtrians in Hungary, and concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the Turks. The Empreſs Catharine, being informed of theſe meaſures, haſtened to ſettle with Frederick the plan of partition, with a view to make ſure of the aſſiſtance of that prince, by procuring for him advantages equivalent to the danger of engaging in a new war with the Houſe of Auſtria.

His endeavours for accommodating the differences between the Imperial courts;

But Frederick hoped to obtain the advantage without incurring the riſk, and therefore endeavoured to accommodate the differences between the Imperial courts; determining, ſhould that deſign prove impracticable, ſtrictly to adhere to his engagements with Ruſſia. This reſolution ſeemed equally honourable and prudent; for had the king affected to preſerve a neutrality in the war between the two empreſſes, they might probably, after haraſſing each other during a few campaigns, have agreed to make peace at his expence: but by ſecuring the friendſhip of one of theſe powerful neighbours, he would be enabled to ſet the reſentment of the other at defiance. In his negotiation with Ruſſia, therefore, he overlooked the vaſt diſproportion of advantages ſtipulated in favour of that empire.

Catharine's ſhare of Poland was to be twice as extenſive as his own; and in caſe Ruſſia ſhould be attacked by the Auſtrians, Frederick was to aſſiſt the former with the whole force of his kingdom; whereas, ſhould he himſelf be attacked by the ſame enemy, he was not entitled to demand any ſuccour from the Ruſſians, till they had concluded their war with the Turks.

and to terminate the war between the Turks and Ruſſians.

In a memoir addreſſed to the Empreſs Catharine, Frederick pointed out the inequality of theſe conditions; and requeſted as a compenſation well becoming the dignity and generoſity of ſo great a princeſs, that ſhe would grant leſs rigorous terms of peace to the Grand Seignior; and that the town of Danzic, ſituate on the coaſt of Pomerellia, ſhould be added to his own ſhare in the diviſion of Poland. The latter propoſal was rejected. Catharine ſaid, that ſhe had guaranteed the freedom of Danzic; and the court of Great Britain, jealous of the aggrandiſement of Pruſſia, undertook the protection of a city, which had long exerciſed a commercial deſpotiſm over the other towns on the Baltic. But as to the firſt part of the demand, Catharine was more compliant. Frederick had remounted his cavalry, to ſhew that he meant, if neceſſary, effectually to co-operate with Ruſſia; and Catharine, moved by gratitude, agreed, at his requeſt, to reſtore to the Turks her conqueſts between the Dnieſter and the Danube. This important intelligence was immediately communicated to the court of Vienna; and prince Kaunitz, being thus reſcued at once from the terror of having the Ruſſians for his neighbours, and of ſeeing the numerous votaries of the Greek church in Hungary revolt to a rival Empire, appeared for the firſt time with a ſerene countenance. The ſame news gave extraordinary ſatisfaction at Conſtantinople, the Turks having been equally unfortunate in the preſent as in the preceding campaign. To ſooth the Empreſs, they releaſed Mr. Obreſkow from his confinement; and ſet on foot a negotiation for terminating a war, which had proved to them a perpetual ſeries of diſaſters.

Frederick brings matters

Frederick's convention with Catharine for dividing Poland, was ſigned the 17th of

February 1772. It remained for his Majeſty to engage the court of Vienna to ſhare the advantage and the reproach of that extraordinary enterpriſe. In a conference with the Auſtrian envoy, he deſired him in his name to congratulate the Empreſs Queen, on having the fate of Europe in her hands; and aſſured him, that his confidence in the approved wiſdom of that great princeſs left him not the ſmalleſt room to doubt that ſhe would prefer the certain advantages of peace to the doubtful chance of war. This converſation was ſpeedily communicated to prince Kaunitz. The ſudden remounting of the Pruſſian cavalry had convinced that vigilant miniſter that Frederick, though extremely ſolicitous to prevent a general war, was reſolved, ſhould the criſis terminate in ſuch an unfortunate iſſue, to aſſiſt Ruſſia to the utmoſt of his power. As it was uncertain, therefore, whether it would be poſſible to hinder Pruſſia and Ruſſia from diſmembering Poland, prince Kaunitz determined that Auſtria ſhould ſhare the ſpoils; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, propoſed to the court of Berlin the ratification of an act, by which the contracting parties ſhould bind themſelves to make

to ſuch a paſs, that Auſtria accedes to the treaty of partition, March 1772.

the partition equally. This inſtrument was ſigned at Berlin in March, and ſoon afterwards at St. Peterſburg; the 1ſt of September being fixed by the three powers for taking poſſeſſion of the territories which they had reſpectively appropriated. The king of Poland was to be informed of this arrangement; and an extraordinary diet was to be aſſembled at Warſaw, in which the claims of the invaders were to be heard and ratified; and the domeſtic differences of the Poles to be finally adjuſted.

The revolution in Sweden, Auguſt 18, 1772.

But theſe deciſive meaſures had no ſooner been adopted, than a new revolution in the North retarded their execution. The prince royal of Sweden happened to be at Paris at the time of his father's death; and the miniſters of Lewis XV. who beheld with extreme jealouſy the aggrandiſement of Ruſſia, and who, not being able to oppoſe it by open force, had long endeavoured to prevent it by ſecret intrigue, applied to that young prince, and promiſed to pay the arrears due by France to Sweden for the ſervices of the latter in the ſeptennial war, amounting to 1,300,000 crowns, on condition

tion that ſome part of that great ſum ſhould be employed in deſtroying the Swediſh ariſtocracy, and rendering the king abſolute. The young Swede, lively and ambitious as he was, entered warmly into that project; for the execution of which the diet to be aſſembled at his coronation might furniſh a very favourable opportunity. At his return to Stockholm, his emiſſaries, loaded with money, were ſent to all the provinces of the kingdom, in order to corrupt the troops and the deputies. His brother prince Charles ſet himſelf at the head of a brigade, intending to march to the capital to aſſert the cauſe of the king. But before his arrival, the revolution was already effected. By the aſſiſtance of two regiments, the guards, and the artillery, Guſtavus III. made himſelf maſter of the arſenal, pointed cannons againſt the ſtreets and ſquares, and having aſſembled the trembling ſenate, compelled that body, which repreſented the nation, to declare him unlimited ſovereign of his country.

Frederick prevents a war between

This event, which recalled to their remembrance the ambitious reign of Charles

Sweden and Ruſſia.

Charles XII. when Sweden had proved ſo formidable to its neighbours, greatly alarmed the powers of the North, and furniſhed abundant materials for a new war. Ruſſia, it was to be expected, would have no ſooner concluded her differences with the Turks, than ſhe would employ the force of her extenſive empire to re-eſtabliſh the Swediſh ariſtocracy; a form of government ſo well calculated to bridle the activity of the king, and to diſtract or enfeeble the exertions of the ſtate. Denmark, the eternal enemy of Sweden, would not fail to co-operate towards the ſame deſign. Pruſſia had ſimilar intereſts; and by her treaty with Ruſſia ſhe had guaranteed the form of government then eſtabliſhed in Sweden. But Guſtavus III. was Frederick's nephew; and nature, which ſometimes ſpeaks to the heart of kings, rendered the enlightened humanity of that great monarch extremely averſe to commence hoſtilities againſt ſo near a relation. He endeavoured to moderate the indignation of the Empreſs Catharine; and the firmneſs with which the Turks oppoſed the ſevere conditions of peace to which that princeſs wiſhed to ſubject them, allowed time for the court of Vienna to interpoſe its good offices at Frederick's requeſt, and happily to appeaſe the riſing tempeſt.

State of Denmark, 1771 and 1772.

The Swediſh monarch, delivered from immediate apprehenſions on the ſide of Ruſſia, turned his views towards Denmark, that, by firſt defeating one enemy, he might be enabled the more eaſily to reſiſt the other. Chriſtian VII. king of Denmark, had mounted the throne in early youth. His inexperience and his weakneſs were diſturbed by the cabals of courtiers and the intrigues of women. Soon after his marriage with the princeſs Matilda of England, Saldern, the Ruſſian envoy, perſuaded him to travel. He viſited England and France; his worthleſs attendants cheriſhed his natural appetite to low pleaſures. At his return to Denmark, he had contracted a diſeaſe, which being totally neglected in its progreſs, ruined his health, as the remedies, to which he afterwards was directed, greatly weakened his underſtanding. Struenſee, his phyſician, was for ſeveral months king of Denmark; but this unworthy domination was overturned by the addreſs of the queen dowager. Struenſee was beheaded; Matilda was divorced; and a new faction took poſſeſſion of the government.

Frederick accommodates the differences between Sweden and Denmark.

The unſettledneſs of a new adminiſtration, and the diſcontents of the Norwegians, whoſe poverty had been oppreſſed by exceſſive contributions, fomented the ambition of the king of Sweden. Some deputies from the Norwegian peaſants met that prince in the town of Eckholmſund, and aſſured him, that he had only to appear with a ſmall body of troops on their frontiers, to encourage the whole nation to throw off the Daniſh yoke. Guſtavus, without ſcrupulouſly weighing the probability of this intelligence, haſtily marched into Scania under pretence of celebrating the Eric Gatta. From thence he proceeded to the Norwegian frontiers; diſpatched a threatening letter to the king of Denmark; and while his army prepared to invade Norway, his fleet attempted to burn the docks of Copenhagen. But the fire of his Swediſh Majeſty was but a fire of ſtraw. The remonſtrances of his uncle eaſily repreſſed his fury. By Frederick's interpoſition, the two courts were reconciled, Denmark recovered from its panic, and Guſtavus returned quietly to his capital.

The partitioning powers invade Poland, 1773.

Theſe diſturbances in the North, fruitleſs negotiations with the Turks, diſſenſions between the miniſter count Panin and prince Orlow the favourite of the Empreſs, together with the marriage of the great duke, to whoſe bed Frederick had artfully recommended the princeſs of Darmſtadt, ſiſter to the princeſs royal of Pruſſia, ſo much engaged the court of St. Peterſburgh, that it was not till the 15th of April 1773, that a diet could be aſſembled for regulating the affairs of Poland. The partitioning powers ſent three armies into that country, each of 10,000 men; accompanied by a manifeſto containing a deduction of their reſpective claims. Frederick's title to Pomerellia was founded on its annexation to Brandenburgh and Pomerania before theſe provinces had been diſmembered by the Poles: he demanded Elbing as mortgaged for a ſum of money lent by his anceſtors to the republic; and he claimed Marienburgh and Culm as a compenſation for the city of Danzic, which, though the capital of Pomerellia, was to remain independent. His Majeſty in his own narrative glances but lightly at theſe titles; but obſerves repeatedly, that the partition of Poland was the only expedient that could have been deviſed at that criſis, for preventing a general war in Europe.

The treaty of ceſſion ratified by the Poles, 1773.

The three courts required the king of Poland and the Republic to ratify their reſpective claims, and to terminate their domeſtic diſſenſions. They demanded beſides, the eſtabliſhment of a permanent council, as well as a fixed ſum for the maintenance of Poniatowſky, and for ſubſiſting a body of Poliſh troops, amounting to 30,000 men. The Poles at firſt were refractory; which obliged the three courts to declare that, ſhould this obſtinacy continue, they would proceed without delay to divide among themſelves the whole kingdom; but, on the contrary, ſhould the Poles become docile, that they would immediately withdraw their troops from the territories of the Republic, and guarantee its independent government and hereditary poſſeſſions. This declaration was hardly made, when the various parts of this complicated ſyſtem arranged themſelves ſpontaneouſly. The treaty of ceſſion was firſt ſigned with the Auſtrians, then with the Ruſſians, and finally with the Pruſſians, on the 18th of September.

The Ruſſians defeated, and obliged to repaſs the Danube in the ſpring, 1773.

In making this great national ſacrifice, the Poles, who of all European nations are the moſt frivolous and the moſt inconſiderate, flattered themſelves with the hopes that its conſequences would not be perpetual; and the events of the Turkiſh war tended to rivet their attachment to this fond fancy. The Empreſs Catharine, encouraged by the brilliant ſucceſs of her arms on the north ſide of the Danube, commanded mareſchal Romanzow to paſs that river with his army; expecting that, by gaining victories in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople itſelf, ſhe would bend the obſtinacy of the Sultan, and compel him to accept peace, however onerous and diſgraceful. But this enterpriſe was attended with difficulties which had not been foreſeen by the council of St. Peterſburgh. That part of the Danube which divides Walachia from Bulgaria, is a German mile in breadth. To cover it with a bridge is impoſſible; and it would be hazardous to land on the ſouthern bank, expoſed to the fire of an enemy. Beſides theſe obſtacles, Romanzow repreſented the difficulty of forming magazines on the hoſtile ſhore; and the danger to which his army would be expoſed of encountering misfortunes there, ſimilar to thoſe which Peter the Great had experienced on the banks of the Pruth. The Empreſs's reſolution was unalterable. Romanzow with 35,000 men croſſed the Danube, and attacked the city of Siliſtria, which is ſituate in a hollow, ſurrounded by mountains that were ſtrongly fortified, and defended by 30,000 Turks. The army of the grand vizier was encamped on Mount Hæmus, and within reach of ſuccouring the place. The Spahis or Turkiſh cavalry defeated one of the diviſions of the Ruſſian army, and compelled another which had already entered Siliſtria, to abandon that conqueſt, and to retire towards the Danube with conſiderable loſs. The vizier kept his main body immovable in the camp, but ſent a detachment to occupy a defile which leads from Siliſtria to the Danube. This detachment was diſlodged. The Ruſſians made good their retreat; and in the ſpace of three days, their whole army was tranſported to the oppoſite coaſt; being ſaved from the fatal conſequences of this raſh enterpriſe by the groſs ignorance and almoſt incredible inactivity of their enemies.

Equally unſucceſsful in the autumn.

The Empreſs Catharine, diſſatisfied but not diſcouraged, reinforced her army in Walachia, and gave orders to mareſchal Romanzow to repeat the ſame attempt in the autumn, at which ſeaſon ſhe was informed that moſt of the Turkiſh troops returned to their reſpective provinces. The Ruſſians under the generals Ungern and Soltikow again paſſed the Danube; the former advanced to the town of Warna, ſituate on the Black Sea, and at the mouth of the river from which it derives its name. This town was well fortified, ſurrounded by a ditch filled with water, defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and its harbour crowded with Turkiſh frigates, whoſe guns commanded the ſhore. Ungern perceived that it was impoſſible to make himſelf maſter of the place. In his retreat, he was purſued by the Turks, who took his cannon, and deſtroyed a conſiderable part of his detachment. The other divisions of the army were not more ſucceſsful: their magazines were ſeized by the enemy; and they were obliged to repaſs the Danube with diminiſhed numbers, greatly fatigued, and half-famiſhed. To theſe misfortunes was joined in the ſame year, the revolt of the Coſſacks, in the neighbourhood of Orenburgh, an inſurrection which ſoon extended from the banks of the Yaic to thoſe of the Don. The Coſſacks complained that their country was exhauſted by exorbitant demands of men and horſes for the ſervice of the Ruſſian army. Their leader Pugatchef pretended to be accompanied by the Czar Peter III. and threatened to dethrone Catharine. His party was joined by the barbarous provinces extending between the ſhore of the Caſpian and the neighbourhood of Moſcow. The Empreſs withdrew her troops from Poland; but ſuch is the extent of her vaſt empire, and ſuch the

Revolt of the Coſſacks.

difficulty of marching armies in thoſe countries, that the rebels could not be effectually oppoſed till March 1774.

Terms of the peace between the Ruſſians and Turks, July 10, 1774.

Theſe vexatious events, which had raiſed the hopes of the Poles, inclined Catharine to grant peace to the Turks. By means of his Pruſſian Majeſty, a negotiation was ſet on foot for that purpoſe; but the independence of the Crimea, and the exorbitant ceſſions demanded by the Ruſſians, retarded the concluſion of the treaty, till the ſeaſon arrived for opening the campaign. To avoid a general engagement, the grand vizier had pitched his tents on the mountains of Bulgaria, hoping, by detachments only, to repel the Ruſſians, who again paſſed the Danube. But Romanzow, eager to compenſate the diſaſters of the preceding campaign, found means of turning the Turkiſh army, defeated all the parties which oppoſed his progreſs, intercepted the enemy's convoys from the Euxine, while general Kominſky cut off their communication with Adrianople. The Turks were reduced to the neceſſity of either ſtarving in their camp, or opening a paſſage by the ſword. This hard alternative brought the grand vizier to his wit's end; he was ready to ſign whatever conditions of peace mareſchal Romanzow thought proper to impoſe. The preliminaries, which were ratified in the mareſchal's camp the 10th July 1774, gave to the Ruſſians Aſoph, Kinburn, and Janikala; the free navigation of the Propontis, Euxine, and Archipelago; the independence of the Crimea; and the ſum of 4,500,000 rubles, as an indemnification for the expence of the war.

Defeat of the Tartar inſurgents, and puniſhment of Pugatchef, Jan. 21, 1775.

An important and almoſt immediate conſequence of this treaty was the defeat of the Tartar inſurgents. The Empreſs withdrew her troops from Romulia, overpowered Pugatchef by numbers, diſperſed his adherents, and intercepted his retreat. Betrayed by one of his followers, that daring chief, who, had his fortune equalled his abilities, might have overturned the Ruſſian empire, was delivered into the hands of his enemies, and ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of unſucceſsful rebellion.

January 21, 1775.

The

CHAP. VI.

Circumſtances which retard the ſettlement of Poland, till the year 1777.

The termination of the war in a manner ſo unexpected, and ſo highly favourable to the intereſts of Ruſſia, totally ruined the hopes which the Poles had conceived from the iſſue of the preceding campaign. At the commencement of the year 1774, they talked not only of recovering their territories, but of greatly enlarging them. The Grand Seignior, they imagined, at the head of his brave Janizaries, would ſoon penetrate into Ruſſia, burn Moſcow and St. Peterſburgh, dethrone the Empreſs Catharine, and divide with his Poliſh allies the ruins of her vaſt empire. But the defeat and humiliation of the Turks had overthrown theſe lofty projects, and left the Poles no other reſource but that of a ready and almoſt implicit ſubmiſſion. The permanent council was eſtabliſhed; the ſum of 1,280,000 crowns was fixed for ſupporting the eſtabliſhment of Poniatowſky; but inſtead of 30,000, ſcarcely 14,000, troops, were retained in the pay of the Republic; and the partitioning powers found too much neceſſary employment in reſiſting each other's incroachments beyond the preſcribed bounds, to have leiſure to procure any material relief for the diſſidents, whoſe oppreſſed condition had ſerved as a pretence for their firſt interference in the affairs of Poland. By availing themſelves of inaccurate maps of that country, and confounding the names of two rivers, the Sbruze and the Podhorze, the Auſtrians had extended their acquiſitions far beyond the limits aſſigned them in the treaty of partition. And as there had been an expreſs ſtipulation, that the diviſion ſhould be made equally, Pruſſia thought herſelf obliged to imitate this example, in order to maintain the balance; and therefore added the old and new Netze to the ſhare of Poland which ſhe had already acquired. But the Empreſs of Ruſſia, who, not contented with a part, aſpired to govern the whole country, and whoſe ambaſſadors at Warſaw acted the part of Roman proconſuls in the conquered provinces, ſeaſonably interpoſed, and put a ſtop to incroachments, which ſeemed exorbitant and endleſs. Repreſentations, remonſtrances, and threats, ſucceeded each other. Long negotiations followed, during which, Frederick, when it was neither juſt nor prudent to reſiſt, maintained his honour by yielding gracefully.

fully. The Auſtrians were more haughty and more uncomplying. The new ſettlement, or, as it was prepoſterouſly called, the reformation of Poland, was retarded till the year 1777; when the partitioning powers were reſtrained, by mutual jealouſy and mutual fear, from extending their uſurpations, and confined nearly to their reſpective diſtricts which they had ſeverally appropriated by the treaty of partition.

Frederick's dexterity in accompliſhing that deſign.

This memorable tranſaction, by which a territory containing 5,00,000 of ſouls changed maſters, was thus prepared, conducted, and accompliſhed, by the profound policy of Frederick, without riſking a battle. In effecting ſuch an important revolution, he availed himſelf with admirable dexterity of the inteſtine diſſenſions of the Poles, of the pride and jealouſy of Ruſſia, of the irreſolution and terror of the Houſe of Auſtria, of the weakneſs and ignorance of the Turks, and of the diſtractions and difficulties of the other powers of Europe. Since the acceſſion of Lewis XVI. in 1774, France, which was cruſhed under the weight of its immenſe debts, had been governed by Mr. Maurepas, who, at the age of fourſcore, was unwilling, in addition to the naval hoſtilities which he meditated againſt England, to involve his country in a continental war, of which he could not expect to ſee the end. England was engaged in an unfortunate conteſt with her American colonies, which made her entirely loſe ſight of the affairs of Europe. The other powers of the North and South were feeble or remote, indifferent to the concerns of Poland, or hoſtile to each other. Taken ſeparately, they were not of any account; and even conjoined with the Poles and with each other, they could not have made any effectual reſiſtance to the meaſures of three mighty potentates directed to one common purpoſe.

The importance of his acquiſitions in Poland.

To Frederick, who had duly conſidered the ſtate of neighbouring and remote nations, the ſeaſon ſeemed highly favourable for rounding his dominions, and for ſaving from deſtruction one part at leaſt of a country, which had been long ſubject to the worſt diſorders of elective monarchy, combined with ariſtocratical turbulence and feudal oppreſſion; and which, in addition to theſe evils, was actually involved in a civil war, envenomed by the artifices of prieſts, and inflamed by the enthuſiaſm of the multitude. The territory which he acquired, joined his dutchy of Pomerania with his kingdom of Pruſſia, commanded the navigation of the Viſtula, and thereby engroſſed the whole trade of Poland; a country of ſuch exuberant fertility in grain, that whatever nation is maſter of its coaſt can neither dread the danger of famine, nor feel the inconvenience of ſcarcity.

Extraordinary and rapid improvements which his Majeſty made in the ſtate of that country.

Yet the province of Pomerellia, which enjoyed ſo many natural advantages, preſented to the Pruſſian occupants unvaried ſcenes of lawleſs barbarity and dreary deſolation. In moſt parts of the country, the barns and cottages had fallen to decay; in the towns of Culm and Bromberg, which had walls and churches, the houſes wanted roofs, doors, and windows; for the plague in 1709 had produced evils, which the lazineſs of the Poles had never attempted to repair. In this wretched province, education was totally neglected, courts of juſtice were unknown; there was not a poſt for letters or for paſſengers; even the moſt common artizans, carpenters, taylors, and blackſmiths, were rare and precious perſonages. But in the courſe of a few years, Pomerellia, under the Pruſſian government, was ſupplied with whatever it had before wanted; ſchools, colleges of juſtice, and artificers. At the expence of 300,000 crowns, the ruined farm-houſes were repaired. The ſum of 700,000 crowns was employed in making a canal, which, joining the Netze and the Viſtula, formed a communication between that great river and the Oder, the Havel, and the Elbe; the marſhes were drained; the cities rebuilt and repeopled. His Majeſty purchaſed the Staroſties, or perſonal fiefs, for 500,000 crowns. Landed property was firmly ſecured and judiciouſly diſtributed. The commerce of Elbing began to flouriſh on the ruins of that of Danzic; and Weſtern Pruſſia (for thus Frederick's new acquiſitions have been named) ſoon produced an increaſing revenue of 5,000,000 of crowns; an addition of income which, as ſhall be explained in the following chapter, was employed by the enlightened policy of that great prince in undertakings the moſt uſeful in peace, and enterpriſes the moſt honourable in war.

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The Emperor takes poſſeſſion of Bavaria. His correſpondence with Frederick; who undertakes the defence of the injured princes. Frederick's negotiations and military ſucceſs. Peace of Teſchen. Having ſecured the public tranquillity, Frederick applies with undivided attention to the duties of his domeſtic adminiſtration. Analyſis of national proſperity. The means by which Frederick promoted it: 1. *As to ſubſiſtence.* 2. *Defence.* 3. *Phyſical and moral improvement.* 4. *Enjoyment.* 5. *The aſſured proſpect of the continuance of thoſe benefits. The Germanic union. Frederick's employment during ſickneſs. His death and character.*

CHAP. VII.

State of Europe and am-

FREDERICK's power and renown had cemented, in 1756, an intimate union between the rival houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; and his partition of Poland, in bition of the Emperor Joſeph, 1774.

in 1773, had well nigh produced a ſtill greater political prodigy, an offenſive alliance between the courts of London and Verſailles. But the perturbed affairs of America attracted the attention and exertions of England to countries beyond the Atlantic; and the cautious policy of the aged Maurepas preferred to a dangerous conflict in Germany, in which country the arms of France have ſeldom reaped laurels, the eaſier taſk of protecting the inſurgents in the Britiſh colonies. The alliance, indeed, of the partitioning powers, whoſe fair and blooming ſurface occaſioned ſuch general alarm, was rotten at the heart. It had been formed by intereſt, and by intereſt it was ready to be diſſolved. The ambition of the young Emperor ſeemed to be whetted by his ſhare of the Poliſh ſpoils. His able and artful miniſter had contrived to obtain from the Turks a part of Moldavia, ſtretching along the banks of the Nieſter to the neighbourhood of Chotzim, as a compenſation for his good offices towards preventing the whole of that province, as well as Walachia, from falling into the hands of the Ruſſians. This tranſaction gave juſt

offence

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offence to the Empreſs Catharine, who perceived, that in caſe of a new war with the Porte, the Auſtrians, being maſters of the Nieſter, might intercept her convoys from Poland, in which country ſhe uſually formed magazines. The Auſtrian army was 170,000 ſtrong, a military power far more conſiderable than any preceding Emperor, without excepting Charles V. had ever been able to collect. The aſpiring Joſeph diſdained concealing his determined reſolution of enlarging his dominions at the expence of all his neighbours. Towards the Eaſt he prepared to claim Servia and Boſnia; on the South he expected to diſmember the territories of Venice, and to join his dutchy of Milan to Tyrol and Trieſte; Alſace, once a province of the Empire, and Lorraine, the patrimony of his anceſtors, tempted his rapacity on the Weſt; but it appeared from the following incident, that Sileſia, on the Northern frontier, formed the favourite object of his ambition.

Diſcovers his deſign of attacking Pruſſia, 1775 and 1776.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1775, his Pruſſian Majeſty being afflicted by returns of the gout more frequent and more violent than uſual, Van Swieten, the Imperial envoy at Berlin, wrote to the Emperor, that Frederick's long reign was drawing faſt to a concluſion. Upon this agreeable intelligence, the Auſtrian troops were in motion; the diviſions in all parts of the Empire were commanded to aſſemble in Bohemia; and Joſeph, filled with expectation, prepared at Vienna, upon the firſt news of the king's death, to advance to the frontiers of Brandenburgh, and thence to offer the ſucceſſor to the Pruſſian throne the alternative of reſtoring Sileſia, or of being cruſhed in his unſettled and defenceleſs ſtate, by the combined ſtrength of the Auſtrian monarchy.

His travels into France, 1777.

But, amidſt theſe preparations, Frederick's malady abated; and towards the commencement of the year 1776, his Majeſty was well, and on horſeback. The Auſtrian troops returned to their quarters, and Joſeph travelled into France to viſit the Queen his ſiſter. His reſidence at that court tended not to cement the union between him and his brother-in-law Lewis XVI. At the court of Verſailles, the Emperor's

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peror's behaviour was unexceptionable: but in ſurveying the provinces, he could not help teſtifying ſome degree of regret and envy, when he beheld their flouriſhing manufactures, which greatly ſurpaſſed thoſe of his own dominions; and expreſſing paſſions ſtill more violent, when he conſidered that Normandy, Britanny, and Provence, together with other countries formerly independent, had been gradually incorporated into the French monarchy; whereas in Germany, in which country he enjoyed the auguſt title of Emperor, there ſtill remained princes bold enough to oppoſe his inclinations, and even to reſiſt him in war.

Takes poſſeſſion of Bavaria, 1777 and 1778.

Theſe reflections, which might otherwiſe have evaporated in their own emptineſs, acquired conſiſtence and ſtrength from an event as important as it was unforeſeen. Towards the cloſe of the year 1777, Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, died of the ſmall-pox; and his death terminated the male branch of the Lodovician line, which had governed that country for near five centuries. His general heir was Charles Theodore, elector palatine of the

Rhine; a prince in his 54th year, who not having any legitimate offspring, conſidered his nephew the duke of Deuxponts, as his ſucceſſor. But the demiſe of the elector of Bavaria was no ſooner known at Vienna, than the Emperor, grounding his claim on obſolete documents, pretended that the fiefs in Bavaria had eſcheated to the king of Bohemia, and prepared by an armed force to make himſelf maſter of the former province. Maria Thereſa reluctantly conſented to this violent meaſure, at the perſuaſion of prince Kaunitz, who ſucceſsfully cultivated the Emperor's favour, by promoting his views of ambition. A body of troops, amounting to ſixteen battalions and twenty ſquadrons, with eighty pieces of cannon, were conducted towards Munich. The Elector Palatine trembled in the palace, of which he had juſt taken poſſeſſion; and being promiſed eſtabliſhments for his natural children, provided he abandoned the intereſts of his lawful heir, readily entered into a convention, which alienated from the duke of Deuxponts two thirds of Bavaria.

This

Frederick entruſted with the intereſts of thoſe injured by this violence.

This tranſaction could not fail to excite an univerſal alarm. Should the Emperor obtain the right of diſpoſing at pleaſure of vacant or doubtful inheritances, there was an end of all thoſe laws and treaties which had hitherto upheld the ſafety of the Germanic conſtitution. This conſequence eſcaped not Frederick's penetration; and he determined without delay to reſiſt encroachments not more exorbitant than dangerous. But before he could prudently or warrantably have recourſe to arms, ſeveral preliminary meaſures ſeemed neceſſary. It was requiſite that the duke of Deuxponts ſhould proteſt againſt the treaty of Munich; and that the electreſs dowager of Saxony, who was ſiſter to the late Maximilian Joſeph, ſhould claim her brother's allodial poſſeſſions; above all, the diſpoſitions of the courts of St. Peterſburgh and Verſailles, whoſe interference might have a weighty influence on the deciſion of the conteſt, were to be carefully examined and exactly aſcertained. The elector of Saxony had already, in right of his mother, preferred his juſt claim; but the court of Vienna deigned not even to honour him with an anſwer. The count Gærtz, Frederick's miniſter, arrived ſeaſonably at Munich, to ſtop the duke of Deuxponts on the brink of the precipice, from which he was ready to fall. To that young prince, Gærtz repreſented, that he could not poſſibly derive any advantage from ratifying his uncle's treaty, whereas, by oppoſing that unlawful tranſaction, there was reaſon to hope that he might obtain in due time ſome part at leaſt of his inheritance. The duke yielded to the force of conviction, made his proteſt formally, and wrote a letter to Frederick, craving his protection. The court of Berlin, being thus entruſted with the concerns of the two perſons moſt intereſted in the Bavarian ſucceſſion, was ſufficiently authoriſed to ſet on foot a negotiation with Auſtria reſpecting that object; which Frederick might protract at pleaſure, until he had thoroughly penetrated the deſigns of France and Pruſſia.

His negotiations with Auſtria, France, and Ruſſia, 1778.

Under pretence of ignorance, he aſked to be informed by the Emperor concerning his title to Bavaria. Having patiently liſtened to his proofs, he began to hint doubts, and to allege the public law of the empire, as well as the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had regulated the right of ſucceſſion to that valuable dutchy. The ſudden death of the elector had not allowed to the Auſtrian miniſters time to prepare colours for varniſhing their uſurpation; their arguments were ill-contrived, and eaſily refuted. Meanwhile, the court of Verſailles was ſounded, and it was diſcovered there, that notwithſtanding the treaty with Auſtria, called the alliance of the great powers, which France was willing to maintain, and the influence of the young queen, ſiſter to the emperor Joſeph, which it became miniſters to reſpect; yet, at bottom, the counſellors of Lewis XVI. beheld with regret the violation of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and the deſtruction of that ſyſtem in Germany, which their predeceſſors had taken much pains to eſtabliſh; and therefore would endeavour to preſerve an apparent neutrality, while they ſecretly rendered Frederick every ſervice in their power. This truckling tameneſs, which ill became the ſucceſſors of Richelieu and Lewis XIV. proved that his Pruſſian Majeſty had really aſſumed the balance, which

France ſtill affected to hold. That provident monarch had cultivated the friendſhip of Ruſſia with the moſt patient aſſiduity; but a renewal of hoſtilities with the Turks, which it was to be feared that the intrigues of the court of Vienna would endeavour to perpetuate, might prevent the Empreſs Catharine from fulfilling her good intentions. Yet, through the powerful mediation of France at the Porte, Frederick expected to accommodate the differences between the Ruſſians and Turks, and thus to enable the former to afford him the aſſiſtance ſtipulated in the treaty of St. Peterſburgh. His principal difficulty conſiſted in negotiating with the Ruſſian miniſters, who entertained but very imperfect notions of the Germanic conſtitution. He finally ſucceeded, however, in making them comprehend, that it was the intereſt of Ruſſia to hinder the Emperor Joſeph, who was only entitled to be the firſt prince in Germany, from governing that great empire with deſpotic authority.

Correſpondence between Frederick

Meanwhile the Auſtrian troops were commanded to move towards Bohemia and the Emperor.

from Italy, Flanders, and Hungary; becauſe prince Kaunitz continued to prefer the ambitious ſyſtem of a young aſpiring prince, to the pacific reſolutions of his aged and infirm miſtreſs. The approach of ſuch formidable bodies of men to the frontiers of his dominions, obliged Frederick likewiſe to aſſemble his forces, which compoſed two armies, each 80,000 ſtrong; the one commanded by his brother, prince Henry, and deſtined to guard the electorates of Brandenburgh and Saxony; the other, conducted by himſelf, with a view to defend Sileſia; and, when occaſion offered, to penetrate into Moravia or Bohemia. Amidſt theſe hoſtile preparations, ſeveral letters paſſed between the rival monarchs. His Imperial Majeſty began this correſpondence, ſeemingly with the deſign of juſtifying his pretenſions to Bavaria, but really from a deſire to gain time for ſtrengthening his poſts. Frederick anſwered him politely but firmly; and while he maintained the moſt reſpectful decency in his language, refuted the Emperor's arguments in a manner as convincing as it was perſpicuous. Joſeph's next letter betrayed ſomething of the acrimony of a defeated diſputant. He ſpeaks of the king's "long-winded diſcourſe;" and ſays, that he had learned ſo many other fine things from his Majeſty, that were it not from regard for the precious blood of 400,000 brave men, he ſhould be glad likewiſe to take his leſſons in the art of war. To this defiance, Frederick replied, "Your Imperial Majeſty has the goodneſs to jeſt with me. No, Sire, you need not a maſter. Such talents as yours will become any part. Lucullus, you remember, had never commanded an army, when the Roman ſenate ſent him into Pontus. Yet he no ſooner arrived there, than he conquered the experienced Mithridates. Let your Majeſty obtain victories, I ſhall be the firſt to applaud them; provided only that they be not obtained at my expence." This royal negotiation, which began the 13th of April, was continued by the Auſtrian and Pruſſian miniſters till the 4th of July; at which time both princes were ready to take the field.

Campaign in Bohemia, 1778.

In the operations which followed, the Pruſſians maintained their uſual ſuperiority. By his ſkilful marches, Frederick fell unexpectedly on Nachod, ſeized the fortreſs and magazines belonging to that place, and eſtabliſhed the theatre of war in the enemy's country. Aſſured of the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia as well as of the good offices of France, and willing to wait the iſſue of thoſe jarring factions which divided the Imperial court, the prudence of his Majeſty might decline to provoke danger, in order to haſten a deciſion. The Emperor, on the other hand, who could not expect to retain the poſſeſſions which he had violently ſeized, without the moſt diſtinguiſhed military ſucceſs, was challenged by intereſt as well as honour, to make the boldeſt exertions, and by defeating the enemies who had already declared againſt him, to intimidate thoſe who were ready to reinforce their arms. But the inconſiſtency of Joſeph, regardleſs of theſe conſiderations, kept the great Imperial army ſhut up behind the Elbe, between Kenigingratz and Arnau, in works ſo ſtrong that they reſembled a regularly fortified city. Mareſchal Laudohn, however, whoſe forces amounted to 50,000 men, hovered on the frontiers of Luſatia and Saxony. To oppoſe this threatened invaſion, which might have compelled the Saxons to deſert the cauſe of Bavaria and their own, prince Henry marched towards Dreſden, and ſent detachments to ravage the northern frontier of Bohemia. The king, meanwhile, was employed in foraging the eaſtern diviſion of that kingdom; an operation which would enable him to take up his winter quarters in Sileſia, without fear of being moleſted during that ſeaſon by the enemy.

Maria Thereſa negotiates ſecretly with Frederick.

In this manner, Bohemia was waſted by four great armies, when a ſtranger, who called himſelf the ſecretary of prince Gallizin, Ruſſian ambaſſador at Vienna, arrived in the camp of Welsdorf, and craved an audience of Frederick. This pretended ſecretary was Mr. Thugut, formerly Imperial ambaſſador at Conſtantinople. He preſented to Frederick a letter from the Empreſs Queen, teſtifying her uneaſineſs at the troubles which had ariſen, her anxiety for the ſafety of her ſon's perſon, and her earneſt deſire to diſcover ſome expedient by which all differences might be accommodated. Mr. Thugut's negotiation tended to gain Frederick's conſent to the Emperor's uſurpation of Bavaria, by offers extremely advantageous to Pruſſia. For this purpoſe, he obſerved that the court of Vienna, inſtead of oppoſing Frederick's eventual ſucceſſion to the marquiſates of Bareuth and Anſpach, would aſſiſt his Majeſty in procuring an exchange of thoſe territories for countries nearer Brandenburgh, ſuch as Meclenburgh or Luſatia. Frederick replied, that the Imperial court ſeemed to conſider as ſimilar, two objects totally different, his own incontravertible right of ſucceſſion to Bareuth and Anſpach, and the unlawful uſurpation of Bavaria: That how well ſoever it might ſuit the convenience of Pruſſia, he would never *compel* any prince to exchange his poſſeſſions for thoſe marquiſates; an act of *violence* which he could not approve or abet. He added, that to prove to her Imperial Majeſty his ſincere deſire of peace, he would make a propoſal in writing which might ſerve for the baſis of a treaty. Thugut offered his ſervices as ſecretary; but Frederick, who truſted neither his ſtyle nor his intentions, wrote the conditions with his own hand; conditions, in which due attention was paid to the intereſts of all concerned in the Bavarian ſucceſſion, and which were afterwards admitted by the peace of Teſchen concluded in the following year. Thugut carried this writing to Vienna; and returned ſoon afterwards to Welsdorf, furniſhed by prince Kaunitz with a number of propoſitions as captious as they were obſcure. The king, who foreſaw that this negotiation muſt prove fruitleſs, and who was unwilling to enter into a tedious inveſtigation with Mr. Thugut, referred that miniſter to his ſecretaries of ſtate, Finck and Hertſberg, who in a few days ſent him back to Vienna, hopeleſs of attaining the object of his commiſſion. The Emperor was extremely enraged at the diſcovery of his mother's negotiation. He immediately diſpatched a letter to that princeſs, declaring, that if ſhe made peace on ſuch terms as Pruſſia had propoſed, he would retire to Aix-la-Chapelle, never to return to Vienna, and never to ſee her more. His brother,

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the Great Duke of Tuſcany, had been ſent to appeaſe his anger; but this expedient, from which much had been expected, produced no other effect, but that of ſetting at variance two brothers, who had hitherto lived on the moſt friendly terms.

Military ſucceſſes of the Pruſſians, July and November 1778.

Mr. Thugut's negotiation did not ſuſpend the operations of the campaign, which, though unproductive of any great event, afforded an opportunity to the prince royal of Pruſſia, his preſent Majeſty, to diſtinguiſh himſelf by vigilance and activity, by ſkilful movements, and judicious diſpoſitions. The troops which he commanded, as well as ſeveral other Pruſſian detachments, gained advantages over thoſe of the enemy; but the main deſign of his Majeſty was to waſte the Bohemian frontiers and when that was accompliſhed, to retire into ſafe winter quarters. About the middle of November, he returned to Breſlaw, in order to make preparations for the enſuing campaign, and to carry on the negotiations which he had ſet on foot with foreign powers.

The Empreſs Catharine declares in favour of Frederick.

The negotiation with Ruſſia was the moſt intereſting of all, becauſe, from that country only, he could derive effectual aid. Through the mediation of France, he had perſuaded the Grand Seignior to reſtore ſome Ruſſian veſſels ſeized in the Dardanelles, and to acknowledge the independence of the Crimea. The Empreſs Catharine had no ſooner received this agreeable intelligence, than ſhe cauſed her miniſters to declare in her name, both at Ratiſbon and Vienna, that unleſs the Houſe of Auſtria removed the grievances of which the princes of the empire complained, ſhe could not avoid fulfilling her engagements with his Pruſſian Majeſty, and aſſiſting him with ſuch a reinforcement of troops, as had been mutually ſtipulated between them in the treaty of St. Peterſburgh.

Views of that prince.

This event diſconcerted prince Kaunitz, who had neglected to provide for it. The Emperor ſtill imagined that the Turkiſh war would divert the hoſtility of Ruſſia; and Maria Thereſa had not only requeſted the mediation of France, but implored the good offices of the Empreſs Catharine. The diſpatch ſent for this purpoſe to St.

Petersburgh, and the declaration of Ruſſia, reached, nearly at the ſame time, the places of their reſpective deſtinations; a circumſtance highly favourable to Frederick, ſince, had Maria Thereſa's requeſt been made more ſeaſonably, the Empreſs Catharine might probably have withheld her declaration. Yet, his Majeſty was not by any means averſe to an accommodation with the court of Vienna, provided his allies obtained juſtice reſpecting their pretenſions to Bavaria, and he himſelf were delivered from any farther chicane reſpecting his right of eventual ſucceſſion to Anſpach and Bareuth. The court of France as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, appeared to Frederick not leſs intereſted than Pruſſia itſelf, in hindering the Emperor from keeping poſſeſſion of a province, which would have enabled him to invade the king of Sardinia's dominions in Italy (an event much dreaded at Turin), or to recover the provinces of Lorraine and Alſace; a deſign which the ambitious Joſeph was known to have much at heart. But Frederick obſerves, that a miniſtry without vigour, and a king who had not any fixed character, were not to be entruſted with the ſafety of the Germanic conſtitution. He therefore ſent to Mr. Maurepas a memoir containing ſuch conditions of peace as might with propriety be admitted. This piece, which ſeemed neceſſary to guard the French miniſtry againſt the machinations of the court of Vienna, was employed by baron Breteuil, who now acted the part of Claude D'Avaux the French plenipotentiary at the treaty of Weſtphalia, as the baſis of his negotiation with the Empreſs Queen, and admitted as ſuch by that princeſs, notwithſtanding the perpetual oppoſition of the Emperor.

Exorbitant pretenſions of the Ruſſians.

The Ruſſian prince Repnin arrived meanwhile at Breſlaw; and inſtead of appearing as a general appointed to conduct a body of auxiliaries to the Pruſſian camp, affected the imperious tone of an arbiter ſent to dictate laws to Germany. The Ruſſian reinforcement was to amount to 16,000 men, whom Frederick purpoſed employing next campaign in Ludomeria and Gallicia; and from thence ſending them, in conjunction with a Ruſſian detachment, into Hungary and Tranſylvania, where the ſtandard of the Empreſs Catharine would have been immediately joined by the ſuperſtitious and oppreſſed votaries of the Greek church. Frederick offered to abandon entirely to his allies the plunder of thoſe rich countries. But this project was rejected by prince Repnin; who eſtimated the ſervices of his reinforcement at the enormous price of 2,000,000 of crowns, an annual drain, by far too exhauſting for Pruſſia, eſpecially when augmented by the ſubſidy of 500,000 crowns, which Frederick ſtill paid the Empreſs Catharine, in conſideration of the Turkiſh war, which ſhe no longer carried on.

Plan of pacification ſuggeſted by Frederick, and propoſed by France, January 1779.

The activity of baron Breteuil delivered his Pruſſian Majeſty from the neceſſity of ſubmitting for the public good to this onerous contract. Before the end of January, he ſent to prince Repnin a plan of general pacification, coinciding with what his Pruſſian Majeſty had propoſed, and what the Empreſs Queen had approved. The principal conditions were, I. That the Upper Palatinate, and all Bavaria, except the Circle of Burghauſen, ſhould be reſtored by the Auſtrians to the Elector Palatine. II. That the right of ſucceſſion to thoſe territories ſhould be declared veſted in the duke of Deux Ponts. III. That, as a compenſation for the allodial property in Bavaria, the elector of Saxony ſhould obtain the ſum of 6,000,000 of florins, by regular payments of 500,000 Florins annually. IV. That the court of Vienna ſhould acknowledge Frederick's juſt title to the eventual ſucceſſion of the marquiſates of Anſpach and Bareuth; and ſhould never bring forward any more objections, or create any new difficulties on that ſubject.

Difficulties attending this plan, which Frederick endeavours to obviate.

When this plan of pacification was communicated to his Majeſty's allies, the Saxons complained loudly, that inſtead of 40,000,000 of crowns, to which they were juſtly entitled, they ſhould only obtain 6,000,000; and the duke of Deux Ponts inſiſted that Bavaria ought not on any account to be diſmembered. In favour of his allies, Frederick renewed his interceſſion at the court of Vienna; but prince Kaunitz declared that the Empreſs would rather ſacrifice the laſt man in her army, than ſubmit to

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conditions more humiliating than thoſe already accepted. France deſired peace, in order to free herſelf from the Emperor's ſolicitations for ſuccours, in virtue of the treaty of Verſailles; Ruſſia was unwilling to be involved in a new war for the ſake of her German allies; Frederick was not inclined once more to oppoſe the three greateſt military powers of Europe. He endeavoured, therefore, to prove to the Saxons, that without the aſſiſtance of France, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, their elector, notwithſtanding the juſtneſs of his demands, could not have obtained any compenſation whatever from the court of Vienna; and that he ought therefore to reſt ſatisfied with the ſum which his allies had found great difficulty in procuring for him. The duke of Deux Ponts, again, was deſired to remember that he had already loſt three-fourths of Bavaria; and, on this account, ought to think himſelf very fortunate in recovering two-thirds of that dutchy.

The pacific inclinations of Maria

During theſe negotiations, the war ſtill raged on the frontiers of Bohemia and Sileſia. Soon after the declaration of Ruſſia, the

Thereſa oppoſed by the Emperor Joſeph.

the Emperor Joſeph had availed himſelf of the perplexity of his mother, to engage her to ſign an order for raiſing 80,000 new levies; affirming, that at ſuch an important criſis, it was neceſſary to render the Houſe of Auſtria formidable to all its enemies. The Pruſſians, however, not only defended their own territories, but maintained the ground which they had gained in Bohemia. The Auſtrian troops were diſtreſſed for want of pay; the provinces, exhauſted by heavy contributions, could no longer bear the burdens impoſed on them; the loans, obtained in Genoa, Amſterdam, and other commercial cities, neither anſwered the Emperor's expectation, nor ſupplied the public exigency; and his wiſeſt counſellors perceived with much ſorrow, that ſhould he obſtinately perſiſt in the war, ſuch general confuſion muſt enſue, as threatened the diſſolution of the Auſtrian monarchy. At this juncture, a courier whom Frederick had ſent to St. Peterſburgh, returned with the Empreſs Catharine's approbation of the propoſed terms of peace; and this diſpatch was immediately communicated by prince Repnin to baron Breteuil, at Vienna. The baron ſent notice to his Majeſty, that the Empreſs Queen had teſtified much ſatisfaction at this intelligence, and propoſed immediately aſſembling a congreſs at Teſchen in Auſtrian Sileſia, to complete the ſalutary work of pacification which ſhe had ſo much at heart.

His unſucceſsful meaſures for preventing a peace.

In ſuch circumſtances, it is hardly credible, that a general Wallis with 10,000 men ſhould have aſſaulted the town of Neuſtadt, which was garriſoned with two Pruſſian regiments. His grenades ſet fire to the place, and deſtroyed 240 houſes: but the garriſon held firm, and the Pruſſian detachments in that neighbourhood having advanced ſeaſonably to defend Neuſtadt, repelled the aſſailants, and purſued them to Zuckmantel.

Congreſs at Teſchen, March 1779.

This enterpriſe had been planned by the Emperor, who flattered himſelf that he ſhould render Frederick implacable by deſtroying one of his towns. But in this ſuppoſition his Imperial Majeſty was much diſappointed. Maria Thereſa deſired a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. Her requeſt

queſt was immediately complied with. The Pruſſians, for the convenience of ſubſiſtence, extended their quarters; and his Majeſty, who was at Breſlaw the 6th of March, agreed that a congreſs ſhould be held at Teſchen; and named Mr. Riedeſel for his plenipotentiary. The miniſters of Ruſſia, of Saxony, of the Elector Palatine, and of the duke of Deux Ponts, arrived ſucceſſively at Breſlaw, and from thence proceeded to Teſchen, in which place they were joined by the baron Breteuil and Mr. Cobenzel, who reſpectively repreſented the courts of Verſailles and Vienna.

Peace of Teſchen, May 13, 1779.

By the Emperor's contrivance, the negotiation was perplexed, and its concluſion retarded for more than ſix weeks. The Elector Palatine refuſed granting any ſatiſfaction to Saxony, and declared that rather than pay 6,000,000 of crowns to that court, he would adhere to his preceding engagement with the Houſe of Auſtria. The miniſter of the duke of Deux Ponts inſiſted, as formerly, on the indiviſibility of Bavaria. Prince Repnin ſpoke with the authority becoming the repreſentative of the Empreſs

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preſs Catharine; and baron Breteuil diſplayed that dignity which the miniſters of Lewis XIV. had aſſumed in the midſt of his triumphs. Yet their multiplied conferences with the German miniſters produced not any deciſive reſolution, until a courier arrived, the 20th of April, at Vienna, from Conſtantinople, with the news of a peace between the Ruſſians and the Turks. This important intelligence, which proved that Catharine's declaration againſt Auſtria was not an empty boaſt, bent the obſtinacy of the young Emperor. The play of his machines for diſturbing the negotiation from that moment ceaſed; and in the ſpace of fifteen days, a treaty was concluded on the terms formerly ſpecified; and ſigned at Teſchen the 13th of May, Maria Thereſa's birth-day. Thus ended, not indeed a war, but rather an armed negotiation; and thus did Frederick's firmneſs reſiſt the Emperor's ambition, and diſpel the alarming dangers which threatened to ſubvert the conſtitution of the Empire, and to deſtroy the independence of the princes of Germany.

Frederick's munificence and diſcernment.

THE peace of Teſchen is the laſt memorable event which his Majeſty found leiſure to record. Yet to conclude the hiſtory of his reign with this tranſaction, important and uſeful as it was, would be robbing his memory of its faireſt honours. His ſword had been drawn for the laſt time to aſſert juſtice, and ſecure peace; and theſe purpoſes being effectually obtained, the ſeven remaining years of his life were applied with undivided attention to the encouragement of uſeful induſtry, and the advancement of national happineſs. Frugal in his domeſtic œconomy, he was generous to the public; and with what he ſpared from the oſtentatious vanity of the court, he cheriſhed the ſalutary labours of the country. To enumerate his yearly benefactions, has been the taſk of his virtuous and able miniſter count Hertzberg, at an annual ſolemnity of the Academy of Berlin, to celebrate the birth-day of its patron; but, in an hiſtorical work, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that from the peace of Teſchen till his death, Frederick regularly increaſed his diſburſements for the improvement or embelliſhment of his dominions. The ſum total of this unparalleled munificence, exceeding eight millions ſterling, was advanced without the impoſition of any one new tax, and beſtowed without the proſpect of any other return, than (that which is indeed the beſt a prince can receive) the affectionate gratitude of his people. Yet the vaſt extent of his royal bounty is leſs worthy of admiration, than the ſingular diſcernment with which it was conferred. Fond of glory, but convinced that no true glory can be attained without labour, Frederick with painful diligence examined the minuteſt wheels of the political machine; and as his vigilance was always awake, ſo his hand was always ready, to repair the waſte of time, and remove the obſtructions of accident. By his ſeaſonable interpoſition, the great engine of ſtate was made not only to move eaſily, and to play regularly, but to exert its utmoſt force; a force, extraordinary and unexampled, which in the ſpace of forty-ſeven years produced a new power in Europe, capable of vying with kingdoms which had been the conſolidated growth of twelve ſucceſſive centuries.

Analyſis of national proſperity.

The merit of great men has been often depreciated by the envy of contemporaries, and overlooked by the indifference of poſterity. But, from the viſible and happy revolution which Frederick's exertions effected, it may reaſonably be preſumed, that his reign, which does honour to monarchy itſelf, will for ever ſerve as an inſtructive leſſon to the ſovereigns of the earth, encourage their induſtry, or upbraid their indolence, but prove that the worſt indolence is that of being active to no uſeful purpoſe. While in other nations, and thoſe infinitely more favoured than the Pruſſians in the partition of natural advantages, the great ſprings which move and direct national exertion, and promote national greatneſs, were repreſſed by the weight of cumberſome regulations, and even the abſtract principles of political œconomy perplexed in the intricacy of deluſive or incomplete theories, that illuſtrious prince diſcerned and reduced to practice thoſe ſublime yet ſimple rules of government, which can alone produce or maintain *public proſperity*. *That* great and complex object which ſome authors have conſidered as relative to the perfection of agriculture, together with the abundance and value of natural productions; and others have regarded as proportional to the refinement of arts and the fruits of induſtry; and a third claſs of politicians, with more dignity at leaſt if not more juſtneſs, have appreciated by the ardour of martial ſpirit, and the elevation of national character,—may be analyſed, not by arbitrary ſuppoſitions, but by the experience of hiſtory, into the five following particulars; ſubſiſtence, defence, phyſical and moral improvement, enjoyment, and the aſſured permanence, as far as human affairs admit ſecurity, of thoſe important advantages. Under each of theſe heads, we ſhall examine the happy alteration effected during Frederick's reign, convinced that to compare the diſſimilar conditions of Pruſſia at his acceſſion and demiſe, and to explain the means by which this difference was produced, is one of the nobleſt ſubjects that civil ſcience can boaſt.

Its different branches improved

To deſcribe the operations which afford great military or great political reſults, often reſembles explaining the machinery by which the decorations of a theatre are moved and varied. The effect is grand, ſimple, and ſtriking; the means employed to attain it, are minute and intricate, ungrateful to the ſight, and perplexing to the underſtanding. From ſuch a contemplation, the giddy eye of ſuperficial ignorance turns with impatient diſguſt; and the attention even of intelligent curioſity cannot be long arreſted by the explainer, without much perſpicuity of arrangement, and much accuracy of deduction. But ſo natural and ſo conſiſtent, ſo ſkilfully contrived, and ſo nicely adapted, was Frederick's political ſyſtem, that its parts arrange themſelves ſpontaneouſly; and to explain its principles, we need do little more than exhibit its effects. At his acceſſion to the throne, the Pruſſians cannot be ſaid to have enjoyed the means either of ſubſiſtence or ſecurity, ſince Frederick William, who had raiſed an army and formed a treaſury, had prepared thoſe engines of greatneſs, by grinding his ſubjects, who loſt annually a large ſum by the unfavourable balance of trade, and whoſe productive induſtry did not correſpond to their national conſumption. A ſoil naturally barren

by Frederick.
1. As to ſubſiſtence.

was negligently cultivated; the coarſeſt arts only were exercifed or underſtood; and the ſands and marſhes of Brandenburgh were compreſſed on the one ſide by the fertile dutchy of Sileſia, and intercepted from the ſea on the other ſide, by the valuable coaſt of Pomerellia. By aſſerting his pretenſions to thoſe provinces, which, according to the Pruſſian memorials, had remained unclaimed only through the imbecility or tameneſs of his anceſtors, Frederick provided, in the fruitfulneſs of Sileſia, and the maritime ſituation of Pomerellia, ſuch ſecurities for his people in the great article of ſubſiſtence, as no other kingdom can boaſt; ſince, in conſequence of this latter extenſion of his frontier, the whole commerce of Poland, which is juſtly conſidered as the granary of Europe, muſt paſs through his Majeſty's dominions, which can never ſuffer by ſcarcity, while the Poles have grain to ſpare.

He rounds his dominions and extends them to the ſea.

His improvements in agriculture.

Yet theſe invaluable acquiſitions, which might have lulled the confidence of a warrior, that by war aimed only at conqueſt, excited the activity of Frederick, who, in his conqueſts, aimed only at public happineſs. By his unexampled liberality, and indefatigable diligence in the encouragement of agriculture, we behold in his dominions alone barren ſands converted into vegetable mould, or overſhadowed with lofty foreſts. At his expence, the ſeeds of lucerne, trefoil, and lupin, which in the courſe of thirty years have changed the face of Germany, were diſtributed gratuitouſly to all who applied for them. The ſtimulation of bounties and premiums was employed with judgment and ſucceſs: new articles of produce and new modes of culture were introduced; and in every province, immenſe ſtorehouſes were erected and repleniſhed, which ſerved alternately as magazines in time of war, and granaries in ſeaſons of ſcarcity. In the miſerable famine of 1772, which afflicted the richeſt principalities of Germany, the Pruſſians alone neither felt want nor incurred expence; ſince the opening of the king's ſtores kept the price of grain at the uſual level. By incloſing commons, Frederick greatly benefited his country; and as he purchaſed at an ample price the rights of commonage, he urged the hand of induſtry, and invigorated the exertions of health, without exciting the complaint of infirmity, or incurring the curſe of deſpair.

Judicious diſtribution of farms.

From his extenſive *demeſne*, which comprehended nearly one third of the Pruſſian territory, that generous prince ſeparated innumerable farms, which were granted for an annual *redevance* or contribution, in hereditary poſſeſſion, to induſtrious individuals. His financiers objected to this regulation, which, by ſubdividing eſtates, multiplied the tenants and families to be maintained on them, and thereby diminiſhed the rents which their cultivators, when leſs numerous, could afford to pay. But his Majeſty diſdained this objection, feeling, that to a king, an increaſe of populouſneſs is an augmentation of wealth; and knowing, that farms are certainly too ſmall, when the peaſant, as in many provinces of France, can afford neither the implements nor the means of agriculture; but that they are as certainly too large, when the ſuperabundance of fertile ſoil prevents an attention to contiguous pieces of land, leſs promiſing indeed and leſs grateful, but not altogether incapable of improvement. Not only to produce much, but to produce much within a narrow compaſs; not only to have numerous ſubjects, but to enrich and ſtrengthen his dominions by a denſe population, was the favourite object of Frederick's enlightened policy; and although the exact magnitude of a farm, which in different countries is relative to a variety of different circumſtances, cannot be preciſely defined, yet, that the juſt proportion has been nearly approximated in the Pruſſian dominions, evidently appears, not only from the ſmall quantity of ground that remains neglected, but from the great annual exportation, amounting in value to 2,000,000 of crowns, made by a kingdom, narrow in extent, and naturally unfertile.

He extends manufactures.

Agriculture, that firſt of arts, in which nature labours in concert with man, of which the fruits are the moſt uſeful, and of which the exerciſe is the moſt ſalutary, has in all well-governed ſtates been the moſt favoured branch of induſtry. In Frederick's political œconomy, it held the principal, but not an excluſive,

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exclusive, place. By his diſcerning encouragement, the linen and woollen manufactures of Sileſia and Brandenburgh were greatly improved, and their produce augmented to the annual value of 3,000,000l. ſterling. Beſides thus extending the old manufactures, many new ones were introduced, particularly the working of cotton, ſilk, porcelain, ſugar, leather, and eſpecially of the mines; which, taken together, make the annual amount of national induſtry fall little ſhort of 40,000,000 of crowns. Nearly one half of the Pruſſian manufactures is conſumed at home; and the exportation of the other half brings annually into the country above three millions ſterling; a ſum which, as Pruſſia requires not any thing from abroad but the article of wine, the raw materials of ſome branches of manufacture, and a few inconſiderable objects of luxury, leaves a great commercial balance in favour of that kingdom.

Increaſes commerce, revenue,

By Frederick's conqueſts, his dominions were extended 320 Engliſh miles along the Baltic, and adorned by flouriſhing ſea-ports. Natu-

and populouſneſs.

Naturally interſected by the Elbe, the Pregel, and the Viſtula, their inland navigation was artificially improved by joining theſe great rivers to each other, as well as to the Oder, the Havel, and the Sprey. Thirteen hundred Pruſſian veſſels annually paſs the Sound; and in conſequence of theſe improvements, and an increaſing commerce, lands roſe greatly in value, and the intereſt of money fell from ſix to four per cent. Attentive only to augment the national reſources, Frederick neither miſpent his own time in deviſing, nor miſemployed the labour of his ſubjects in collecting, taxes. At his demiſe the public revenues, which had been the ſpontaneous growth of induſtry and frugality, exceeded four millions ſterling; and his kingdom contained ſix millions of perſons. In 1784, the births were 211,113; the burials, 152,040; and the ſurplus of births, therefore, 59,073; a ſurplus which no kingdom, equally limited in magnitude, can boaſt.

2. As to defence: conſtitution of the Pruſſian army.

The ſword, which by the warlike nations of antiquity was conſidered and employed as the principal inſtrument of revenue,

venue, has been tranſformed, in modern times, into the chief conduit of expence. Frederick, who revived ſo many obſolete but valuable maxims, reſtored alſo to the profeſſion of arms its former dignity and utility. With his ſcanty income, he raiſed and maintained a military force, which, under the coarſeneſs of vulgar management, would ſoon exhauſt the reſources of the mightieſt monarchies. His army in time of peace exceeded 200,000 men, amply provided with arms and ammunition, furniſhed with artillery, ſupplied with magazines, and always ready to march. Beſides leſs conſiderable places of arms, his dominions contained fifteen great garriſons, which, if governed with that mercenary profuſion which eſtimates wealth by expence, and honour by wealth, would alone be ſufficient to conſume the whole revenues of Pruſſia. But of this vaſt army, the far greater portion conſiſted of the induſtrious ſons of peaſants, of the hardy artificers in wood or metal, and of other laborious and frugal workmen, who joined their regiments in the months of April and May, to be exercifed in military evolutions; and afterwards returned to their reſpective diſtricts, to cultivate the ground, or practiſe their ordinary profeſſions. Even the foreigners in his Majeſty's ſervice, who were employed chiefly in garriſons, performed military duty only during two days in the week; the remaining five days were their own, during which the induſtrious (and the eye of the maſter rendered all induſtrious) ſought employment, and never failed to find it. By intermarriages with Pruſſian women, theſe ſtrangers ſoon acquired the attachments and habits of natives. Each regiment contained more women and children than ſoldiers. The garriſon of Berlin, which conſiſted of 24,000 men, comprehended 60,000 perſons; and at a moderate computation, the whole army formed a military colony exceeding 400,000 in number. This colony, inſtead of being collected into one unwieldy maſs, was judiciouſly diſtributed through every province, and almoſt every pariſh and every village. Its pay, amounting to two thirds of the revenue of the ſtate, was regularly returned to the ſeveral diſtricts from which it originally flowed. This perpetual circulation maintained public proſperity. The ſubject contributed punctually; the ſoldier was punctually paid; neither the one nor the other knew the name of arrears.

Its advantages.

The great Pruſſian army, which, inſtead of exhauſting the repreſentative, increaſed the real, riches of the ſtate, not only ſecures the permanence of this newly formed monarchy, but (a thing ſtrange, yet true) has a powerful tendency to render wars leſs frequent and leſs ruinous. In ſeveral inſtances recorded in the preceding narrative, the military movements of Frederick defeated with little bloodſhed the ambitious deſigns of his enemies; and one example will ſtill occur, in which, by merely brandiſhing the ſword, he maintained the peace of Germany, and prevented a conflagration there, which muſt have finally involved the remoteſt countries of Europe.

5. His attention to the phyſical and moral improvement of his ſubjects.

To provide the means of ſubſiſtence and defence is, doubtleſs, the firſt duty of a king who deſerves the honourable appellation of *ſhepherd of his people*; the language of an age, which ignorance has affected to deſpiſe, and vanity attempted to deride, yet in which the true principles of limited monarchy (the moſt ancient and moſt natural of all governments) were clearly aſcertained, and manfully aſſerted. To feed, and to defend, applies equally to a nation and to a flock; but men have higher demands on their royal paſtor. Their phyſical and moral powers are ſuſceptible of improvement; and that prince who neglects to improve them, is wanting in his duty. Yet, in the faſhionable ſyſtems of modern politicians, national wealth is regarded as ſynonymous with national happineſs. To the increaſe of productive induſtry, and the augmentation of public revenue, both health and education are ſacrificed without ſcruple. Children are prematurely condemned to ignoble and diſtorting toil; and that trade which produces moſt money is always held the beſt,—as if there were not an eſſential difference between the wholeſome labours of the field, and the pining reſtraints of ſedentary drudgery. Where wealth is the primary object of deſire, luxury will afford the principal ſource of enjoyment; and to gratify the demands of one part of the community, heavy burdens muſt be impoſed on the other. But theſe impoſitions, however oppreſſive, will not long ſuffice to defray the extravagance of government, and to ſupply the expences of individuals, enhanced by the exorbitance of taxes. One difficulty will ſucceed to another; and while mercenary declaimers perplex, mercenary traders will ſophiſticate; till, amidſt envied enjoyments, and boaſted refinements, there hardly remains a ſingle maxim that is not fraught with error, or a ſingle article that is not mixed with poiſon. Yet ſuch is the efficacy of the natural advantages of fertility of ſoil and of local ſituation, and ſuch the real importance of manufactures and induſtry, that, notwithſtanding the greateſt moral corruptions, a commercial nation may not only continue to exiſt, but even *ſeem* to flouriſh.

His regulations and exertions for thoſe purpoſes.

The condition of the Pruſſian dominions was totally the reverſe. Inſtead of natural advantages, it was neceſſary to change nature, to drain marſhes, to open foreſts, to ſtop the inundations of rivers, and to repair the ravages of the peſtilence. Until theſe obſtacles were removed, many diſtricts could not be inhabited with ſafety to health; which great object his Majeſty further conſulted, by reſtraining the importation of foreign luxuries, and cauſing his police to watch with a vigilant eye, that the fare of his ſubjects, however coarſe and ſimple, ſhould be at leaſt ſuch as the bounty of Providence had given it; pure from foreign admixture, and compoſed of materials deſtined for human nouriſhment. Idle pretenders to the art of healing were diſmiſſed with ridicule and contempt, and their dangerous noſtrums prohibited from ſale under ſevere penalties. Temperance and frugality, the great ſafeguards of health, were not only enforced as moral duties, but rewarded as public virtues; and though every branch of uſeful induſtry was encouraged, yet the encouragement of different branches varied in proportion, not merely to their commercial benefits, but to their ſalutary, or at leaſt innocent, effects. By this attention his Majeſty obtained a double aim; and while he conſulted the health of his people, provided a ſeminary for his army. The robuſt peaſants and hardy workmen employed at the forge or in the mine, ſupplied ſoldiers of a very different ſtamp from the refuſe of thoſe ſedentary profeſſions, that feed the caprice of faſhion, or adminiſter to the ſervice of luxury.

His diligence in providing good inſtructors for all ranks of perſons.

In the important concern of education, Frederick employed his peculiar care, and exerted his utmoſt diligence. Having made a new kingdom, he determined to make new men; and his ſucceſs was ſo happy, that the appellation of Pruſſian, which, at his acceſſion, had been a term of reproach, became, long before his demiſe, an epithet of honour. As language is the great bond which connects, as well as the chief badge that diſtinguiſhes, the nations of the earth, his Majeſty ſpared neither pains nor coſt, to allure inſtructors from Saxony, the principal ſeat of German elegance, who might reform the barbarity of his Pruſſians, equally contemptible for the impurity of their dialect, and the groſſneſs of their manners. By his munificence and encouragement, that profeſſion which is the moſt laborious and the moſt uſeful, but which vulgarity will never be inclined to reſpect, not niggardlineſs willing to reward, was rendered both lucrative and honourable; and his uninterrupted attention through the whole courſe of his reign, to what vanity and folly will regard as a very humble object of royal care, produced benefits as extenſive, as they promiſe to be permanent.

He receives and protects the Jeſuits, contrary to the advice of his literary friends.

Frederick, as the common father of all his ſubjects, procured for his peaſants ſchoolmaſters from Saxony; while the more diſtinguiſhed orders of ſociety, and of thoſe the moſt conſpicuous for talents and induſtry, were trained under his immediate eye, and provided with the ableſt inſtructors from France and Italy. That enlightened prince diſdained the vulgar objection, that he preferred ſtrangers to natives: he preferred knowledge to ignorance, and refinement to barbarity; and it was for the improvement of his Germans, that he ſpared neither pains, nor money, nor flattery, to engage learned and ingenious foreigners to fix their reſidence in his dominions. This great object had long occupied his attention, when an order of monks, ſingular in its origin, and more ſingular in its progreſs,

uniting

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uniting knowledge with bigotry, craft with enthuſiaſm, and concealing under the maſk of Chriſtian humility, the ardour of enterpriſe and the ſpirit of ambition, alarmed the jealouſy of kings and miniſters, and excited the envy of poets and academicians. The tyranny of a Pombal, the ſuperſtition of a Charles III. and the terror of a Lewis XV. conſpired with the wit of a Voltaire, and the ſophiſtry of a D'Alembert, to perſecute and deſtroy the Jeſuits; of all religious orders, doubtleſs, the moſt ambitious and the moſt daring; but, at the ſame time, the moſt learned, the moſt decent, and the moſt uſeful. To theſe unhappy and perſecuted men, whoſe degradation was felt the more ſenſibly in proportion to the exaltation of their former ſtate, Frederick opened a welcome and ſecure aſylum. In the buſineſs of education, their unrivalled merit had been long and univerſally acknowledged. As inſtructors of youth, his Majeſty deemed them a moſt valuable acquiſition; and when the ſententious D'Alembert, whoſe boaſted philoſophy never reached the heart, endeavoured to diſſuade him from protecting an order of monks, who had ſurpaſſed the activity of all the remaining Catholic prieſthood, in their intrigues for ruining his affairs during the ſeptennial war, Frederick returned an anſwer, that will for ever diſtinguiſh him above his literary correſpondents, whoſe intellectual talents he could admire, while he diſdained their littleneſs of ſoul. He acknowledges that the Jeſuits had done him many ill offices, but affirms, "That where no offence has been given, no clemency can be exerciſed; and you ſurely," (addreſſing the pretended philanthropy of D'Alembert) "will not reproach me for doing acts of kindneſs, and returning good for evil, to men of all profeſſions and of all religions. At this age of the world, it is time to practiſe philoſophy, and to reſtrain ſpeculation. Good deeds are more uſeful to the public than refined theories and ingenious ſyſtems."

His liberal yet diſcerning munificence for promoting the intereſts of

By the ſame liberal principle, his Majeſty regulated his encouragement of men of merit, and his protection of uſeful arts. During his whole reign, royal munificence to learning ſhone in its full luſtre. Hiſtory and letters, and improving the means of education.

and the Belles Lettres formed his peculiar department; but he knew that it became a prince, to promote and remunerate the ſucceſsful cultivation of every branch of knowledge. Ignorant of Greek, and ignorant of geometry beyond the bare elements, he equally rewarded the erudition of a D'Argens and a Bitaubé, and the mathematical and phyſical improvements of a Euler, a Maupertuis, and a La Grange. Each ſucceeding year was diſtinguiſhed by the diſcovery of new objects of diſcerning bounty; and as his Majeſty advanced in life, he felt ſtill more deeply the importance of education. " I try all means," he ſays, " to reform or prevent abuſes, and labour continually to improve the univerſities, the colleges, and even the village ſchools. Thirty years muſt elapſe before the Pruſſians can expect to reap the full fruits of my induſtry. But poſterity will enjoy them; and I already enjoy, by anticipation, the pleaſure of procuring for my country this ineſtimable advantage."

4. As to enjoyment.

When men are nouriſhed, defended, and educated, much doubtleſs has been done;

yet all this may be done for the ſole benefit of a maſter. Under the oppreſſive ariſtocracies of Greece and Rome, two-thirds of the human ſpecies were condemned to ſervitude; and of theſe numerous ſlaves, many were poliſhed by arts, and many cultivated by ſcience. The intereſt of thoſe, whoſe property they were, abundantly provided for their ſubſiſtence and defence; and their agreeable qualities of mind or body often ſhared, and often enlivened, their maſters enjoyments. Yet with all theſe advantages, they were as completely miſerable as wretches liable, at every moment, to be the ſports of caprice, or the victims of cruelty. Equally miſerable would be the condition of the Pruſſians, were their government really that military deſpotiſm which it has ſometimes appeared to careleſs ſpectators, when viewed through the deluſive medium of ignorance or prejudice. But upon a more accurate examination, we ſhall find that Frederick thought nothing done for his ſubjects, unleſs he procured them *enjoyment*, and that enjoyment could never be complete, unleſs accompanied by *liberty*. The meaning of that word has been infi-

The Pruſſian government not deſpotic.

nitely varied; and there are not any two nations in ancient or modern times, who uſe it preciſely in the ſame ſenſe. Yet all are, or ought to be, agreed, that to conſtitute civil liberty, there muſt be equal laws, and thoſe impartially executed; that juſtice muſt be promptly, equitably, and cheaply adminiſtered; and that the nation at large ſhould be entitled to expreſs its ſenſe of public meaſures, and to confine the exertions of executive power within the ſphere of public good. As to the firſt parts of this deſcription, the Pruſſian government will be found to poſſeſs very diſtinguiſhed advantages. The laws of Frederick are not only good and juſt, but being made by a man who knew the power of words, are ſhort, determinate, and eaſily underſtood. Of the law's obſcurity, expenſiveneſs, or delay, there is leſs occaſion to complain than in any kingdom on earth; and during the greater part of his reign, after he had reformed his courts of juſtice, there ſcarcely occur, in a ſpace of thirty years, three inſtances of legal oppreſſion.

Yet

Its true nature and principle.

Yet it may poſſibly be alleged that the Pruſſians, however well they were governed, enjoyed not any ſhare in the public adminiſtration, and could not therefore feel themſelves much intereſted in the public good. But in this argument, the aſſumption is falſe, and the conſequence erroneous. In his various dominions, Frederick acknowledged with pleaſure the ſtates of each province: they met regularly at ſtated times, in national aſſemblies; he conſulted them on matters of general legiſlation; liſtened patiently to their advice; committed to them the adminiſtration of their internal government, and entruſted them with the collection of their provincial contributions. Theſe inſtitutions, which his Pruſſian Majeſty introduced and confirmed, repreſent not the image of a military deſpotiſm, but rather breathe the genuine ſpirit of juſt monarchy, which of all governments promiſes the greateſt ſhare of public happineſs, and which was immemorially eſtabliſhed in that warlike diviſion of Germany between the Viſtula and the Elbe (the preſent centre of the Pruſſian power), from which the European nations have derived the liberal and manly portion of their political ſyſtem. The generous ſeeds of freedom, having thus revived in their native ſoil, may be expected long to flouriſh; and although it will be regretted by thoſe who themſelves enjoy liberty in its full extent, that this patriot king did not crown his great work, and, enforcing manners by law, render that conſtitutional and unalterable, which is in ſome meaſure caſual and arbitrary; yet with the education which that extraordinary man gave the princes of his family, a king of *Pruſſia cannot* be ſuſpected of wiſhing to *govern deſpotically*; and ſhould he ever entertain that mad project, it is boldly inſinuated by a Pruſſian miniſter of ſtate, that conſidering the ſentiments and principles with which Frederick inſpired his ſubjects, ſuch an unworthy ſucceſſor could not hope to enjoy a peaceful or durable reign.

The happineſs of the Pruſſians

In analyſing national proſperity, liberty ſeems a component part, becauſe without liberty there cannot be ſecurity, and without ſecurity there cannot be enjoyment. To inſure the faithful execution of juſt laws, it is neceſſary that the people at large ſhould have an influence in enacting and adminiſtering them; but the degree to which that influence ſhould extend, and the mode in which it ſhould be exerted, are circumſtances concerning which no two political writers are perfectly agreed. The different forms, therefore, of juſt government (for deſpotiſm or tyranny is an abuſe, whether it be exerciſed by one or ten thouſand) muſt be relative to the national character; and opinion, to which all human concerns are ſubordinate, will render that ſyſtem good in one country, which would be bad in another. To men pampered with indulgence, and intoxicated with wealth, whoſe freedom of action too often degenerates into injury, and whoſe freedom of ſpeech not uncommonly ends in inſult, where, even of the higher ranks, many of the young can only be entertained amidſt ſcenes of unlicenſed petulance, and many of the old can only be rouſed by the deſtructive ſtimulants of politics and of play, it will not be eaſy to comprehend what can be the enjoyments of a nation, whoſe point of honour is obedience, whoſe pleaſures are purchaſed by toil, and whoſe frugal luxuries are ſeaſoned by habitual temperance, whoſe amuſement and delight conſiſt in the performance of their civil and military duties, and whoſe deareſt reward is the approbation of their ſuperiors. To appreciate exactly the relative enjoyments of individuals, who act from different motives, and aſpire to different ends, is impoſſible; becauſe, where no ſimilarity prevails, no compariſon can he made. But in eſtimating national felicity, and particularly that of Pruſſia, we may be aſſiſted by two conſiderations equally important and palpable. If happineſs conſiſt in action, that nation cannot be miſerable, whoſe unceaſing tranſactions have been always proſperous. A people who in the courſe of forty years triple their population, and triple their revenues, whoſe operations, domeſtic and foreign, have been crowned with unexampled ſucceſs, who, amidſt the greateſt and moſt glorious wars recorded in modern hiſtory, have improved their agriculture and extended their manufactures to a degree almoſt incredible, and who from obſcurity and contempt have riſen to the higheſt rank of national renown. muſt both collec-

proved by their perſevering and proſperous exertions, tively and individually have been employed in ſuch a perpetual ſeries of perſevering and proſperous exertion, as could not fail, notwithſtanding the occaſional calamities of war, to afford an extraordinary balance in favour of public happineſs. That the Pruſſians enjoyed this happineſs, and referred it to its true cauſe, the wiſdom and virtue of their king, appears from events, the hiſtory of which might ſerve to revive the obſolete virtue of patriotiſm, and to teach the true duties of citizens, to thoſe who have long branded the Pruſſians as ſlaves.

The unfortunate battle of Kolin, in 1757, left the provinces of Pomerania and Brandenburgh deſtitute of defence. A body of 20,000 Swedes advanced towards Stettin, from which they intended to invade and ravage the centre of the Pruſſian monarchy. In this emergency, the ſtates of Pomerania aſſembled ſpeedily and ſpontaneouſly, and raiſed a body of 5000 infantry with a proportional number of huſſars. Their generous example was followed by the ſtates of Brandenburgh; and theſe bodies of volunteers, who continually increaſed in number, ſerved not

and by their diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm.

not only to defend the fortreſſes of Colberg and Kuſtrin, and to protect the cities of Magdebourgh and Stettin during the whole courſe of the ſeptennial war, but alſo to ſupply the waſte of ſeven ſucceſſive campaigns; and being ſeaſonably mixed with the ſtanding forces, contributed more to Frederick's victories, than all the mercenaries in his ſervice. In every province and every diſtrict, ſocieties and individuals exerted their utmoſt efforts to oppoſe foreign domination. In Pruſſian Lithuania, preſident Domhardt preſerved the king's ſtuds by diſtributing them among the peaſants; and employed the whole revenues of his province in repairing the villages burnt by the Ruſſians. When the king's army wanted horſes, Mr. Blumenthal preſented his Majeſty with 4000 horſes at one time, from the inhabitants of Magdeburgh and Halberſtadt: and in the diſtricts of Minden and Raverſberg, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, the inhabitants expelled with diſgrace the deſerters of their prince in the moment of his difficulties, and compelled them by threats or force to join their reſpective regiments. It belongs to nations, who boaſt the pre-eminence of their political inſtitutions, to rival the virtues of the Pruſſians in defending their king and country.

Circumſtances which ſecure the ſtability of Pruſſian greatneſs and proſperity.

The regulations which have formed, and the principles which inſpire, that docile, orderly, yet manly and high-minded, people, have been too deeply implanted, and too widely diffuſed, to be ſoon or eaſily eradicated. From conſidering theſe principles alone, it would be reaſonable to predict the duration of the monarchy; yet on this ſubject I ſpeak not with confidence; my work has hitherto been hiſtorical, and I wiſh not to wander in the field of conjecture. In the firſt tranſactions of his reign, the virtues of his preſent Majeſty have ſtood the moſt trying compariſon, and worthily upheld the renown of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. But the happineſs of a nation requires the aſſurance of greater ſtability than a ſingle life can afford; and even under this general aſpect, the Pruſſians enjoy very probable grounds of hope, that their condition will be as permanent as it is proſperous. By the acquiſitions which Frederick made (and which his ſucceſſor has uſed the wiſeſt means to maintain), their territories are enlarged to that juſt extent, which is proved by the experience of hiſtory to be the beſt adapted to foreign exertion and domeſtic tranquillity. There is a variable yet limited magnitude, within the bounds of which the ſprings of the political machine are found to act with energy, and its wheels to move with harmony. Enlarged or diminiſhed beyond this due proportion, kingdoms are liable to periſh, through internal derangement, or external violence. Againſt both theſe evils Frederick provided, by augmenting and conſolidating the great body of his monarchy, which (except a few detached diſtricts that will probably be exchanged for others more conveniently ſituate) extends between the Pregel, the Viſtula, the Elbe, and the Baltic, containing fifty thouſand ſquare miles of well cultivated ſoil, communicating with the ſea, and interſected by great rivers joined by navigable canals, as well as enriched by increaſing induſtry employed on objects of the firſt neceſſity, and therefore not liable to decay or diminution, through the introduction of rival manufactures, or the caprice of faſhion. From the well-authenticated accounts, which prove that the annual births in Pruſſia exceed the annual burials by the number of nearly 60,000, many years muſt elapſe, and dreadful calamities muſt happen, before the proſperity of ſuch a kingdom can become retrograde, or even ſtationary; and as this flouriſhing monarchy enjoys an intermediate ſituation among the three great continental powers, France, Auſtria, and Ruſſia, the mutual jealouſy of its neighbours muſt conſpire to ſtrengthen its ſecurity.

Frederick defeats the Emperor's ambition by the Germanic union concluded July 23, 1785.

But Frederick, diſdaining preſervation, as the ſole object of his policy, had aſpired to a nobler aim; and availing himſelf of the advantages which local ſituation gave him, had boldly aſſumed the balance, reſiſted encroachments, and checked uſurpation. This arduous taſk he renewed in his 74th year, afflicted by old age, the gout, and the dropſy. The ambitious Joſeph, who deeply regretted the peace of Teſchen, endeavoured to recover poſſeſſion of Bavaria, by tempting the Elector Palatine with the offer of a crown, and the ſovereignty of the Auſtrian Netherlands, under the revived denomination of the kingdom of Auſtraſia. This alarming project, which was totally inconſiſtent with the faith of treaties, and which, if ſucceſsful, would have given the Dutch a very dangerous neighbour, and enabled the Emperor to boaſt that the vaſt extent of the Danube flowed through his provinces, was oppoſed by Frederick, and defeated, not by arms, but by the foreſight, wiſdom, and firmneſs of that accompliſhed prince. The houſe of Auſtria renounced for ever this formidable deſign; and the Germanic union, an alliance merely defenſive, concluded at Berlin, the 23d of July 1785, between the king of Great Britain, his Pruſſian Majeſty, and the Elector of Saxony, placed the tranquillity of Germany on a firmer baſis than any on which it had ever before ſtood. To the ſame ſalutary treaty, Bavaria, Heſſia, the margrave of Anſpach and Bareuth, many electors and many princes, gradually acceded; and

Frederick ſpent his few remaining months in conſolidating this work of peace.

His death, Auguſt 17, 1786;

As he had choſen the beſt mode of life, cuſtom had rendered it the moſt agreeable. Till his dying day, he never interrupted his habitual exertions for the public good; riſing at four in the morning, and employing many hours ſucceſſively with his three principal ſecretaries, in the three departments, of foreign affairs, domeſtic government, and the army; and dictating anſwers to letters and petitions from his ſubjects or ſtrangers. The governor of Potzdam then entered, and received verbal orders reſpecting the daily duty of the garriſon. It was not till he had diſcharged theſe great offices of a king, that he admitted a ſurgeon, and ſometimes a phyſician, for a few minutes, though he was ſo ſwollen with the dropſy, that he could not move from his chair, on which he at laſt remained day and night, becauſe he could not breathe in bed. His hours of ſuch recreation as his condition admitted, were ſpent in the company of the counts Hertzberg, Swerin, Gortz, and the amiable and accompliſhed count Lucchefini cheſini (who will accept this teſtimony of my remembrance), with whom he converſed on ancient and modern hiſtory, on the news of the day, on literature and the arts, and above all, on his favourite ſubjects of gardening and rural œconomy; uniformly preſerving the ſame ſerene and tranquil countenance, and never betraying the ſmalleſt ſymptom of bodily pain or mental uneaſineſs. On the 16th of Auguſt, he dictated diſpatches which would have done honour to the moſt accompliſhed ſecretary; and on the day following, while his friends read to him ſelect paſſages from Cicero and Plutarch, which he had marked with his own hand, his ears ceaſed from hearing, his eyes became dim, and he died in a few hours without any convulſive motion.

and character.

Such was Frederick, whoſe reign forms the prominent feature, and whoſe character, to the lateſt ages, will form the diſtinguiſhed ornament, of the eighteenth century. His mind, I hope, has been deſcribed in the preceding narrative. As to his perſon (for reſpecting ſuch a man, even trifles are important), he was of a delicate habit, a ſlight make, and a low ſtature; his body bending forward, and inclining to one ſide. His complexion was fair, his features prominent, his aſpect dignified and ſerene; but his countenance in old age had contracted ſomething of ſternneſs; which being mixed however with ſenſibility, appeared evidently to proceed from the habitual ſenſation of a painful malady, not from ſeverity of character. In a ſtill unengaged attitude, neither moved by external impulſe, nor agitated by internal emotion, his appearance was intereſting, though ſedate; but he no ſooner entered into converſation, than his features animated and brightened, became infinitely moveable and inimitably expreſſive, varying with every ſhade of ſentiment, from the firmeſt fortitude to the moſt affecting tenderneſs. I ſaw him for the laſt time in his ſeventy-third year, in the midſt of his admiring court, dreſſed in his blue uniform, and in boots, both covered with duſt; for he had ſpent the whole morning on horſeback, reviewing 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Berlin. On that occaſion, his converſation with the foreign miniſters turned chiefly on Spalanzani's zani's Phyſical Experiments, then a new ſubject, and ſurely a moſt intereſting one, ſince they relate to nothing leſs than the perpetuation of men and animals. His Majeſty's obſervations marked his philoſophical turn of mind and habitual gaiety of temper: but in a grave work, I ſhould not be forward to repeat all his remarks; becauſe Frederick, who diſdained the affectation, and deſpiſed the frivolity, ſometimes neglected the decencies, of modern manners. His mind, indeed, had been caſt in a mold, which, if I may uſe the expreſſion, nature had long forgotten to uſe. His ardour of enterpriſe, and perſeverance of execution, his unremitted vigilance, and indefatigable induſtry, revived in one part of Europe the picture of thoſe tumultuous and warlike ages, when exertion was rouſed by difficulty, and firmneſs hardened by oppoſition. Yet in his memorable reign of forty-ſeven years, the ambitious conflicts of an Alexander and a Cæſar were uniformly directed by the political wiſdom of a Solon and a Numa, and perpetually brightened by the public virtues of a Titus and an Antonine. From contemplating his various and incomparable merit, I return with new ſatisfaction and increaſed confidence to the ſtateſmen and generals of ancient times, whoſe hiſtory, as related by Greek and Roman writers, can no longer be deemed an amplification altogether beyond nature, ſince the example of Frederick will ſerve to convince modern incredulity of the wonderful revolution that may be produced by the exertions of one man, in the republic which he guides, or the kingdom which he governs.

THE END.

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Printed for A. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

00032439

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016